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**ILLUSTRATIONS**  
**OF**  
**SCOTISH HISTORY.**

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Chicago, Ill., Sept. 10, 1893. Dear Sir,  
I have the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 8th inst. and in reply to inform you that the same has been forwarded to the proper authorities for their consideration. I am, Sir, very respectfully,  
Yours truly,  
J. H. ...

Page 123

**JOURNAL**  
**OF THE**  
**Transactions in Scotland,**

**DURING THE CONTEST**

**BETWEEN**

**THE ADHERENTS OF QUEEN MARY,**

**AND**

**THOSE OF HER SON,**  
**1570, 1571, 1572, 1573.**

**BY**

**RICHARD BANNATYNE, *l. 1605***

**SECRETARY TO**

**John Knor.**

---

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## PREFACE.

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IN the course of various researches into the ancient history of Scotland, it has rather been my object to rescue the scanty materials, for illustrating our national antiquities, from oblivion, than to compose commentaries upon them myself: And chiefly, with this in view, the following pages have been prepared for public inspection.

Two things, the most important, in my opinion, respecting *Bannatyne's Journal*, can admit of little dispute: First, that it is an original work; and, Secondly, that it has been written during the identical period to which it relates; that the events recorded have

frequently been engrossed on the very day when they occurred.

Little is known of the author ; so little, that it is unworthy of repetition here : for I cannot descend to trifling anecdote, a mode of conveying what is considered information, too prevalent at this day. In the course of the work it appears, that he was secretary to the famous reformer John Knox ; and most probably, through his influence, obtained much of the intelligence, to which we can hardly suppose he could otherwise have had access. In particular, it is not likely, that some of the following state-papers, which are wonderfully correct, had that degree of publicity, which would have enabled him to ascertain their contents, without resorting to the authority of the prevailing government.

Soon after the death of Knox, the author made a proposal to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, to print certain memorials relative to the ecclesiastical history of the country, subsequent to the year 1564, which had partly been composed by Knox himself,

and partly by the author according to his instructions. The General Assembly approved of the measure, and allowed a sum of money to carry it into execution. It is not known whether any steps were adopted to promote this undertaking, nor can it be ascertained whether the *Journal* formed any part of those memorials. If it did, perhaps it may be considered fortunate for the general interest of history, that the publication has been transferred from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century : because, what is now the most useless to us, the ecclesiastical part, would, in all probability, have chiefly been preserved.

The author labours strenuously to enforce his political opinions. His peculiar situation rendered him hostile to those attached to Mary's interest, and a bitter enemy to all that professed the Catholic faith. The support of his own party depended solely on the depression of the other ; therefore it is not surprising, that he seems, on the whole, to have had politics more in view than religion.

Notwithstanding the numerous instances of intemperate malevolence, and the frequent intrusions of that disgusting vulgarity, which disfigures every work of the age, the author has evidently been a man of considerable learning ; and the reader will even find some awkward attempts at wit. The general stile of the Journal, also, is much superior to the writings of the same period.

If not meant for publication in the shape in which it now appears, this work has been intended for a foundation of some more regular history. Indeed, the desultory manner in which it is written, the repeated want of connection, and the insertion of extraneous subjects and dissertations, detracts infinitely from its value. The manuscript has lost the first nine leaves ; whence there is reason to believe, that the narrative commenced exactly at the death of Regent Murray. Towards the latter part it becomes more irregular, and the termination is abrupt.

Though we cannot trace the history of this manuscript, it certainly was known to some of the older au-

thors. Calderwood, a voluminous ecclesiastical historian, whose chief work still remains unpublished, has founded the same period of his history almost solely upon it ; but he seems ignorant of the author's name. Spottiswoode, in like manner, follows it almost implicitly. And there is even a certain coincidence of narrative in some passages, which renders it probable, that the HISTORIAN of *King James the Sixth*, who preceded the other two, has also seen the Journal. Early in the eighteenth century, Crawford, (the author of the peerage) refers to the manuscript, *penes Robert Miln* ; at whose death, in 1748, it most likely was transferred to the Advocates' Library in Edinburgh.

Considering the defect of materials for illustrating the history of Scotland, during a period so interesting, it is singular, that this Journal should have been almost entirely overlooked by modern historians. So far as I know, Goodall is the only one who quotes it for authority, and this is about half a century ago. It is true, the author's name has been mentioned twice since the year 1800 ; but not by any means from ha-

ving seen his work. Goodall does not disclose where it was deposited : indeed the whole tenor of the work is so very adverse to the opinions he entertained respecting Queen Mary, that I cannot help suspecting, he would have been well pleased that it never came to light. Mary's participation in the murder of her husband, is a matter of indifference to me ; excepting that, for the sake of terminating a controversy, where so much acrimony has been displayed, I could wish her guilt was satisfactorily ascertained ; or, for the credit of human nature, that she might be proved innocent. Certain it is, however, that the unremitting exertions of two centuries have been unable to fix the crime upon her.

Six or seven years ago, when engaged in an examination of all the manuscripts in the Advocates' Library, I found *Bannatyne's Journal* among some papers quite unconnected with the subject. It is entered in no catalogue of the Library, which further induces me to believe, that Goodall, who was many years Librarian there, was solicitous that it should remain in

concealment. These, however, are only simple conjectures, unsupported by evidence.

Whether this manuscript is identically the original, written by Richard Bannatyne, I cannot determine. It is unquestionably of equal antiquity; and some parts bear marks of originality, though in others there are indications of it being a transcript. If this is the case, it has undoubtedly been made immediately after the original was written.

I know very well, that the labour requisite for preserving such memorials from destruction, and adapting them for general use, will be infinitely undervalued; many will even consider it entirely thrown away. I am not insensible of the numerous defects of this volume, nor am I so firmly wedded to antiquarian science, as to suppose, that every thing *must be* valuable, merely because it is old. Very far from it. But the truth is, that the extreme scantiness of materials for illustrating Scottish history, has often forced us to stamp an imaginary value on what would otherwise be most thoroughly despised. Whence an unaccount-

able latitude has been taken of presenting scraps of histories to the public, without even the slightest evidence, that they are of genuine antiquity.

The reader may rest assured, that it would have afforded me as much satisfaction to divest this volume of the trash too frequently obtruded on his notice, as he must suffer anxiety to avoid it : But it was impossible ; for no one can tell where the line of distinction shall be drawn. Each has his favourite pursuit, history, biography, language, or the like. Even the declamations of the popular clergy, and the methods they employed to excite resentment against the unfortunate Mary, may, by some, be considered interesting. Besides, several of the least important parts of the history are so interwoven with the general subject, that they could not possibly be suppressed.

As this Journal, in a manner, analyses its own contents, perhaps there is less occasion for commentary. A few notes are subjoined, though with a sparing hand. Nothing is easier than to overload a volume with observations ; and a strange and reprehensible custom



has insensibly been gaining ground, of perpetually distracting a reader's attention, by obtruding absolute *dissertations* upon him in the form of notes. But this is a liberty that should be used with uncommon moderation. Indeed necessity alone can apologise for it.

A small portion of the volume is not the work of Richard Bannatyne ; but it will not be deemed the less interesting on that account.

The complaints of the contending factions clearly demonstrate the principal causes that contributed so materially to promote their mutual animosity, which was rather inflamed than abated by the umpire chosen to decide.

The letters respecting Secretary Maitland throw considerable light on the politics of the times, as the correspondence of fallen statesmen must always do. Maitland became alarmed for his personal safety, and not without reason : for it has been insinuated by historians, that he committed suicide, to escape the ignominy which he dreaded his enemies were preparing for him.

The account of the earl of Huntly's death presents some illustrations of the manners and popular superstitions of the sixteenth century; for which reason, it must be viewed with a degree of interest. This narrative has evidently been written under a strong propensity to the marvellous, which formerly so eminently prevailed, and would most likely be still perpetuated, were it not for the numberless checks upon it.

The following declaration by the earl of Morton is not new; but it is probably from an older and more authentic copy than any that has hitherto appeared. However, it should not have found a place here, had it not formed part of the manuscript volume containing the Journal; and been in the same handwriting.

The history of this unfortunate nobleman, which is well known, presents a striking picture of the instability of human greatness. After filling the highest offices which a subject can enjoy, he fell a victim, more, it is probable, from the jealousy of his enemies, than

the evidence of his guilt. He was accused of concealing his knowledge of Darnly's murder in 1567, and died in 1581 for not having disclosed it. But popularity, if ever he enjoyed it, had then forsaken him ; so few were his friends, that his body lay neglected, until some compassionate spectator screened it from the gaze of the multitude.

In the course of these pages, frequent allusions will be found to the infliction of punishment, immediately after trial. Such a custom was practised of old : a criminal was led to execution almost straight way from the presence of the judge. Morton, it appears, received the sentence of a traitor, which, by special favour, was changed to decapitation. Tradition says, that he died by an engine of his own invention, which is still extant, and he suffered on the day immediately subsequent to that of his trial.

A reader of modern times will be forcibly impressed with the deplorable state of Scotland during the sixteenth century. Here he will behold a faithful picture of the miseries arising from a feeble adminis-

tration, the turbulence of powerful nobles, and the ferocity of religious zeal. He may justly congratulate himself, that his good fortune has introduced him so much later into existence ; and while he laments the misfortunes that overwhelmed his ancestors, he should reflect, that they are the source from which the measures that constitute his own security have flowed.

JOHN GRAHAM DALYELL.

# INTRODUCTION.

---

**THE** principal events immediately preceding the period engrossed by the following Journal, are so generally known, that it is almost unnecessary to recapitulate them here.

Mary, queen of Scotland, after having passed her youth in France, revisited her native kingdom, when 1561  
the dissensions which originated in the reformation of religion had hardly subsided.

In the year 1565, she married Henry lord Darnly, 1565  
who was murdered in consequence of a conspiracy, formed chiefly by the means and instigation of the earl of Bothwell.

1567 While this was yet recent, Mary most imprudently married Bothwell : a measure which only tended to strengthen suspicions, that had formerly arose of her own participation in the conspiracy.

A rebellion immediately broke out, which terminated in the flight of Bothwell, and in the queen being reduced to the necessity of submitting to her subjects, by whom she was imprisoned in Lochleven castle. There she was forced to resign the crown to her infant son : and her natural brother, the earl of Murray, was appointed regent of the kingdom.

Mary escaped from Lochleven, and hastily collected an army. But having encountered the regent's  
1568 forces at Langsyde, a total defeat ensued, and she fled with precipitation into England, where she was detained in captivity ever afterwards.

The power of the regent for some time met with little opposition. But the queen's adherents at length recovering from their panic, associated together, and rebelled against his administration.

1569 Then all the nation divided into two factions ; to

which Mary's partisans were the more disposed, from the sanguine hopes of her restoration, and each party prepared for open hostilities. In the mean time, the 1570 regent was inhumanly assassinated at Linlithgow, on the 23 of January, 1570.





# JOURNAL

OF

## TRANSACTIONS IN SCOTLAND,

1570, 1571, 1572, 1573.

---

..... 1570  
 .....  
 .....

The greit Secretare\* wold not pas by the castle of Edinburgh without strycking of saile in sing of obedience, and therfore stayed he and his whole cumpany at St Cuthbertis kirk till that he spak with the Captane †. What was concludet it is not knowin, but men coniec-

\* Sir William Maitland of Lethington; secretary of state. He first joined the confederacy against Queen Mary, but afterwards withdrew from it. He was considered by his cotemporaries a statesman of singular ability, but versatile.

† Sir William Kircaldy of Grange, governor of Edinburgh castle: now provost or chief magistrate of the city; like Maitland, he had also deserted the protestant party.

1570  
April

ture that labouris were made that the Linlythgow lordis myght be receaved in Edinburgh. What will succed tyme will try.

13

Menis coniectoris were not altogether vaine, for vpon the thurisdai the 13 of Aprile come to Edinburgh that lawles band Secretar and vther, together with that graceles garisone 300 Erismen\*. Lordis Home and Seatoun convoyed the rebelis of England to Leyth, becaus it was agreeet betwene the toun and the lordis, that in there cumpany suld be none that myght justlie be suspected of the Regentis murther; that they suld not presume to alter the kingis authoritie: that they suld attempt nothing against the religione, nor yit against the persone of ony inhabitant, and last that there toun suld not be defyled with the Quene of Englandis rebelis† who were knowin idolateris and enemeis to Jesus Christ.

15

The acceptatione of thir heidis notwithstanding, the said lordis vpon setteday the seconde day after thair aryvell called the balies and counsall of the toun befoir them, and in stormie wordis demandit of thame how durst they tak vpon thame to prescribe ane ordor to the nobilitie of the realme? They asked forther gif they wold stand be thare wryting. The counsal answerit that they wrait not without the advise of their prow-

\* Western Islanders.

† The earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, who had sought refuge in Scotland with some adherents.

est : and therefore they wold heir his judgment before they wold directlie answer. :

1570  
April

The lordis and cheaffie Hereis \* boldened be the cauld answer of the counsell vsurped further : and first desyred that they might have the keyes of there portis in keaping ; secondlie, that they might have power to stricke the drume for gathering of men of warre ; and thridlie, that freedom might be granted to the Englis-men peaceablie to remane and spend thair monie in Edinburgh, and last that the toun might be patent to all Scottis men.

The bailies and counsall answerit as befoir, to wit, that they wold speik and consult with their prowest ; as they did the most part of Setterday. Of the conclusion I have not hard, except that the baleis were suffered to keip the keyis of thair owin portis, and that the drume was not strucken. But in recompence of that, the provest, being captane of the castle, promised to be thair savegaurd so long as it pleasit thame to remane in the toun : and this was a gude aneuch obligatione that the castle suld be thair freind against the king and his subiectis †.

\* The loyalty of this nobleman, and the ability with which he defended the cause of Mary, are well known. None of her party was more formidable to her enemies.

† None of these proceedings are to be found in the records of the city of Edinburgh, except a resolution of the magistrates, that the queen's party should be allowed to enter the town, 12 April, 1570.

1570  
April

This was the Secretaires practise with Sir James Balfoure \* when he betrayed the quene, first to be sure of the castle, and then to schaw themselves vpon the feildis. Alace Sir Williame Kirkcadie (sometymes stout and true larde of Grange) miserable is thy fall, who now drawis in yocke with knowin and manifest traitouris, that sumtymes had place amonges honest hartis, yea amonges the sanctis of God, who for the pleasour of that father of traitouris the Secretare left yea betrayed the regent that promoted the.; and now is bruted to sell the castle for tuo thousand crownes and for the priorie of Sanctandrois to be gewin to the and thyne in fewe. Iudas ioyed not long the price of innocent blood.

The Englis rebellis were secreitlie receivet in Edinburgh notwithstanding the complent and admonitione of the preacheoris.

The declaratione of the Quene of Englandis mynd concerning sending of men of warre towardis the bordearis of Scottisland was publised and prented in Edinburgh, the copie whairof is this.

The Quenes Majestie doubted not but it is notorious to all persones of vnderstanding both in England and

\* Sir James Balfour was appointed deputy-governor of Edinburgh castle, 1567 ; and president of the court of session in the same year ; the union of civil and military offices was then common. Sir James was considered of a corrupt disposition ; he at this time escaped the dangers that overwhelmed so many of his party.

Scottisland in what sort certane of hir rebellious subiectis that laitlie fled into Scotland, are thair not onlie menteaned and kepit, but so wickedlie to the dishonour of God favored in the continewance of thair rebellious interprises, as since thair entrie into that realme by the succouris of the outlawis, theivis, and disordered rebellious persones living vpon the fronteris of Scotland (with whome and some vtheris of that realme it is knowin that they had former intelligence to begin and prosecute there rebellione) they have boldened to enter and rebelliouslie against the law of nature to invaide syndrie partes of England being thair native cuntrie; and that so crewellie with fyre and sworde, as no coniured or mortall enemeis culd have done more. Since which tyme also hir Majestie more planelie vnderstandit that althought a grit parte of the ancient nobilitie and states of Scotland, who have of long tyme lyk naturall good fatheris and memberis of thair native countrie nurised peace and concord betwixt both the realmes: and at this present seme desyrous with all there poweris to conserve the same there native countrie in comone peace amonges themselvis: yet they are not able presentlie according to justice and the good ordor of the treatis spedelie to repres and stay the said outlawes and disordered persones vpon the bordoris from opin menteanance of the saidis Englis Rebelis: and from the invasione of England. For that since the lamentable

1570  
April

1570  
April

death and horrible murther of the last regent, (during whose lyfe that realme of Scotland was frie from a multitude of calamities now incident thereto, speciallie from the brecking of comone peace) it is sene that certane vther persones within the bodie of the said realme of no meane calling, tacking thair comoditie be the murther of the said Regent and as it seemeth unnaturallie invying the continewance of comone peace betuixt the tuo nationes, and being infected with privat ambitionis and vnquyet humoris, doe stirre vp with all thair industrieis certane factionis of grit trubles in the bowelis of thair countreis and therby do give confort not onlie to Englis rebelis but also the Scottis outlawes theivis and disordered persones (which are no small number) to continew in there wicketnes and disorderis alsweill against their awin native cuntrie as against the subiectis of England. Heirvpon hir Majestie has some doubt, that those authoris menteaneris and stirreris of the vicked enterprises being so manifest against the law of God and nature, will not spair by thair seditious, forged and colorable ingyne of craft and malice to sclander and falslie report hir majesties intent at this tyme in leaving and sending of certane hir forces to hir borderis for defence of the same from ony further invasione, and therwith to persew according to iustice hir rebellious subiectis and according to the lawes of armes, the invaders of hir realme; and therefore

thought her majestie can weill imagine but such of the  
steat of that realme as be wise, noble and godlie, and  
have ane earnest desyre to conserve comone peace both  
amonges themselvis and with her majestie, will not vther-  
wayes judge heirof then in former tymes, scho hath  
gewin just cause to be thanked and praised immortalie.  
When with her armie certane yeiris past being entered  
into the hart and principal townes, portis, and strength  
of that realme, it is manifest to the world that scho  
never soght nor coveted ony particular enterest in that  
realme for hir self as scho easelie might ; but to hir grit  
charges delivered and made frie that realme and na-  
tione from the yock of forrane forces whairwith the  
same was then oppressed as the whole natione then did  
lament ; a princelie act worthie of a faythfull memorie  
of all and good naturall people of that realme to be  
left to thair posteritie to behold. Yet becaus the sim-  
ple multitude, which are comonlie easelie seduced by the  
craftier sort having pretence of some rule, suld not ony  
wayis fear ewill or harme to follow to the good people  
of the countrie or to the publick state of that crowne by  
the armie of hir majestie now to be conducted towardis  
that realme ; hir majestie hath thought meit to publis to  
all maner of persones hir intentione and plane meaning  
heirin. And therefore hir majestie being by dewitie which  
scho beareth to almytie God, charged to suppres all  
rebelliones raised up against God and hir awin gud  
subiectis against incursiones of theives outlawes ene-

1570  
April

1570  
April

meis and peace breakeris, doeth and in the word of a prince assure all maner of persones that hir intentione and certane meaning is to vse and treat all the subiectis of Scotland, als lovinglie and peaciblie as hir awin (excepting onlie such notorious outlawes, theivis enemies and peace breakeris as have laitlie with hir rebellis invadit and spoyled hir realme, and such vtheris of that natione as have and sall support hir rebelis contrarie to the treatis betwixt both the realmes; against which sort of disordered persones according to the lawes of armes (except sufficient and ressonable a mendis sal be made) hir majestie intendeth to vse hir forces now levied and such forder poweris as scho sall have occasione newlie to leivie, and therefore hir majestie had gewin strait order and charge to hir ryght trustie and weilbelovit cosing the Erle of Sussex hir Lieutenant of the north partis of hir realme, and Captane General to hir said armie, that he schall be all meanis possible vse all and everie one the gud subiectis of Scotland of everie degrie, that have or sall keip peace with her majestie and hir subiectis, in lyk favorable sort to all purposes, and them als neid sall requyre sall also defend as he sall or may doe hir awin naturall gud subiectis, for so is hir majesties resolute intentione and gude meaning to keip peace with that croun and realme of Scotland, and rather to nureis and preserve inward concord amonges all the states thereof then to give caus or



nowrising to ony divisione, howsoever the malice of some seditious and disordered corrupt memberis of that realme sall vtherwayis misiudge and misreport, or craftely sall procure to be by vtheris misreported, who indeid, in this thair sclanderous inventiones, are to be justlie suspected to the whole natione, that, for there onlie privat ambitione of rule and gaine, they will vpon pretences without cause labour to bring vnto the same such strangeres with forces of sindrie sortes, as may schortlie hazard the whole state there, and mak thereof a pray, and reduce that ancient croun and natione into a subiectione, and perpetuall, miserable, and tributarie servitude : whair of hir majestie can not but give this maner of admonitione, to that whole natione, for the naturall love scho beareth to that realme, being to hir croun and dominiones so neir a nyghbour by situatione, blood, naturall language, and vther conditiones mete for amitie, as none is so lyke agane in Christendome, nor no vther kingdome to that realme more mete and necessare to be reteaned in love, concórd, and amitie, then are hir majesties realmes and dominiones, as is most notoriouslie knowin to the whole world. Giwin at hir majesties Honour of Hampton Court, the 10 day of Apryle 1570, in the twelft yeir of her heighness reigne. God save the Quiene.

1570  
April

The generalitie of this displeased some faythfull; and yit the declaratione was nothing pleasing to the Lyn-

1570  
April

lythgow lordis\*, nor yet to the Captane, for Lethingtoun and he were the causeris that Balcleugh † and Pherniherst ‡ raid in England, and brak the borderis, and so raised the first trubles, clock it now as they pleis.

18

Vpon tuysday the 18 of Aprile there was parliamenting (Frenche maneris requyre Frenche termes) or conference appointed, betwixt the Lynlythgow lordis, and sic as stode be the kingis authoritie at Dalcketh §, the end whairof is feared to be that all sall goe to the devile together. Tyme will try, bot the singis are eivill : for the captane setting at nocht the force of sic as pretendit to subvert the kingis authoritie, said, “ I sall byde “ with him as long as ony man,” which imported that in a publict defectione, it was na schame to him to follow the rest. And yet herein he is prowen a manifest liare, for men byde be the kingis authoritie, althought he declare himself a manifest traytour against the king, and a murtherer of his regent be joyning with the Hamiltones. The lyk sentence he pronounced of before ; and therefore it is the more suspicious. Being admonished

\* The queen's party, assembled at Linlithgow.

† Scot of Buccleugh. A family on the borders, of considerable antiquity. Sir Walter, the person here named, was always firmly attached to Mary's cause ; a man of enterprise, and frequently useful in her service.

‡ Sir Thomas Ker of Pherniherst. He married a daughter of Sir William Kircaldy, governor of the castle.

§ A seat and village a few miles from Edinburgh, belonging to the earl of Morton.

that he suld schaw him self more comfortable to the Regent then he did, he answerit, “I man be freind to my  
“freindis, and yet I sal be true to him so lang as he levis.”

1570  
April

This claus (so lang as he lives) has caused men to dascant that he knew more then comone simple men vnderstoode, as alace schortlie followed after, which was his murther. After which tyme all men hes sene in him oblivione of benefits receavet: concurrance with the kingis enemeis: for approbatione whair of he first set at libertie the lord Seatoun at devotione of the Secretare, nixt the lord Hereis, vnder coloure of his sone to be in pledge for him, who with the sonnes of the shrefe of Aire, and Sir James Hamiltoun, were delyvered vpon weddinsday, the 19 of Aprile, and the thursday thereafter was the Duck † brought furth of the castle, and made his harrange to the great God the secretare; before whome he powered furthe ather his complent, or els his prayers, from thrie afternone till sex, and after supper went and lay in Mr David Borthwick's.

19

That nyght departed the Erle Athole \* with Tillibarne ‡; vpon the nixt day followed the erle of Argyle §, lord Hereis and Boyd; and so remaned Hunt-

\* James, duke of Chatelherault, in France; earl of Arran, in Scotland: regent during Mary's minority; and next in succession to the crown.

† John Stewart, earl of Athole.

‡ Sir William Murray, of Tillibardine. This family afterwards became earls, and then dukes of Athole.

§ Archibald, earl of Argyle; the head of a numerous and pow-

1570  
April

lie \*, and his factione, not weill accompanied, but in esperance of men of warre to be raised. In this meane tyme, the Englis armie (few in number) enterit in Scotland, and invadit Pherniherst and Balcleugh, with thair assisteris; the particulare doinges will after be knawin.

22

Vpon Setterday, the 22 of Aprile, the lord Seatoun assembled all his forces at the place of Halyrudhous †, and made no small brag, that he would enter in the toun of Edinburgh and stryke his drume in despite of all the cairles. He had in his cumpany the Ladie of Northumberland. Whither he convoyed hir, when we know we sall write. That same nyght the Hamiltonis traytouris, and vtheris, joyned with him, whome the captane, then prowest of the toun, caused to be receaved, notwithstanding his former vowes, whair they remane, this monunday, with bragis that all is thairis. Lat men now judge whither the captane of the castle be chaunged or not.

28

Vpon friday, 28 of Aprile, the Hamiltoun lordis departed from Edinburgh to Linlithgow, to besett the

erful clan. He married a natural daughter of King James V. In his family, the office of supreme criminal judge was hereditary.

\* George, fifth earl of Huntly, formerly lord-high-chancellor of the kingdom.

† The palace of Holyroodhouse; the chief royal residence. Place signifies a seat of any kind.

way to Marre \*, and Glencairne †, as they did, but yit the mater escaped without blood. 1570 April

Vpon Setterday, the 29 of Aprile, 1570, the castle of Home was tacken be the Englis armie, after a schort, bot a sharpè batterie ‡. 29

The kingis freindis returned to Edinburgh. The lord Home as a man desperat, come to seik comfort of his grit God the secretare, and was receaved in the castle, where they both remane presentlie. The castell denyed comfort to the lordis assembled in the kingis name; lat men iudge what fidelitie restis behind. Be the Secretaries practeis, conference was craved of the lordis that acknowledged the Kingis authoritie be the vther partie. Travelleris, for that purpose, were the superintendent of Lowthiane, and Maister David Lyndsay; what effect it sall tak, tyme will declare. The judgment of the wryter is that there is no treuth ment, but onlie drift of tyme till that the quenis factione may assemble new forces: yea the best that ever the Secretare and his factione ment or meinis is, to call the kingis authoritie in dōwte, yea to call thingis in doubt that ever have bene done during his reigne, for a

\* The earl of Mar. A nobleman of antient family. He was keeper of the young king, and afterwards regent.

† The earl of Glencairn, a keen reformer.

‡ According to the account transmitted to the English ministry, the number of towns and villages destroyed during this inroad, was five hundred,

1570  
April Stewart of the hous of Levenox \*, Argyle, Huntlie, Lethingtoun and vtheris can not abyde, for causis weale aneugh knawin, althought smored by iniust power for a tyme. Arise, O Lord, and be a ryghteous judge. Amen.

The quenis factione, to wit the Hamiltones, Argyle, Huntlie, Boyd, Crawford †, Ogilbie ‡, and Sir James Balfoure remaned at Lynlythgow, and there, after divers consultationes, vnderstanding that the Englis armie was retired furth of Scottis boundis, tuke baldness vpon them be oppin proclamatione to set vp the authoritie of that murtherer and knawin adultres called the quene, and so all farther conference betwixt the tuo parties ceased ; for the lordis that sustened the kingis querrall answerit in few wordis, that they culd have no farther commoning with opin and periured traytoris, as they were everie one (the duck onlie excepted, who had not sworne obedience to the king). *Tak in heir the proclamatione maide to be the quenis lordis, which I can not get.*

Efter the publicatione of thair treassonable proclamatione the quenis factione cravit of the captane of the castle, (who as said is then was prowest of Edinburgh :) that the toun myght be patent vnto thame according to

\* Probably meaning Matthew, earl of Lennox : or the king.

† Earl of Crawford.

‡ Lord Ogilvy ; an ancestor of the Airly family.

his promeis befor thair departing. The mater come  
 in questione before the counsall. The alledged pro-  
 meis was red, the tenour whair of followes. “ We Bai-  
 “ lies, Counsall, and Deaconis prayis your Lordschip  
 “ for eschewing of Inconvenientis appearing, to trawell  
 “ with the lordis of the nobilitie presentlie beand in  
 “ this toun to remove thame selvis for sum certane  
 “ space, and when it sall pleis thame to retorne agane  
 “ the toun sal be patent to thame and the whole no-  
 “ bilitie of this realme to whom our service sal be  
 “ reddie in cōmone, and be partie to neather of them,  
 “ but be newtrale according to our dewtie.”

1570  
 April

Before we travell forder in this head, we may vnder-  
 stand that the grund of this promeis was fyne falset,  
 for the quenis lordis perceaving thair cumpanies to  
 grow thin, and hearing a brute that the lordis of the  
 kingis partie were assembled, wald glaidlie have bene  
 honestlie off the town, and while mony schiftis were  
 devysed this last was found out, to wit, that bailies,  
 counsall and comunitie suld requeist the prowest, and  
 that the prowest suld requeist the lordis to depart for  
 quyetnes of the toun. The fatheris of this inven-  
 tione were the Secretare, the provest himself, \* and Sir

\* Sir William Kircaldy had been elected chief magistrate of  
 Edinburgh in September or October 1569. It appears from the  
 records, that Regent Murray, in October, had applied to the other  
 magistrates to remove him from his office, which they declined.

1570  
April

James Balfoure. The toun being urged and burdened with the foirsaid promiseis, mony denyed that ony sic promiseis or yet requeist was maid be thame, and therefore affirmed that they were not bound to ony sic conditione. Otheris that were more secreit in that matter granted that sic talking was, (and that to save the lordis honestie who durst not byde in the toun for feare) but na sic promiseis as they alledged. The thrid sort, who were the stouttest and the vysest, panielie said that albeit sic promiseis had bene made, yit was not the toun bound to the observatione thereof, becaus that when it was made they understoode thame to be faythfull subiectes to the kingis majestie. But now it is evidentlie knowen be there oppin proclamationes that they have maid a tressonable revolt erecting the quenis authoritie, which in publick, lawfull and solempned parliament was annulled, and yit to this tyme was never by ony lauchfull ordour repaired nor restored; and therefore seing that be all just lawes they have committed treassone in revolting from that authoritie which be thair solempned oathis ones they avowed, it is against all ressonne that they suld receave them in thare toun which professes the kingis authoritie. This answer gewin, the capten stormed.

May  
13

But schort after, to wit vpon setterday the 13 of Maij 1570, the Englis armie arrayved in Edinburgh and the erle of Levenox in thare cumpany, which suaged the furie



of men for a tyme, albeit there hartis were nothing content.

1570  
May

The Hamiltones and thair complices in this meane tyme be the tressonable comoning of the Lord Fleming\* made a suddan and secreat assault to tak the castell of Glasgow. They wan the close, entered the grit hall and set fyre in it, and were repulsed be verie strockis. The certane number of the slane and woundit, was not certanelie knowin to the wrytare, and therefore wald affirme nothing vncertane. The first word that come to Edinburgh was that all Myntoi's† men within the castle and his sonnes were slane, whairat a man (of whome sometymes better hope was had) in grit disdane proclaimed, “lat thame fast now,” (at this tyme the fast was in Edinburgh) “for they have gotten a bloodie sacrifice.” But yit the treuth declared that he was but a dispitfull lyer: gif ony enquire for the man he is called Mr David Borthwik ‡ a Hamiltone fra the hart.

Vpon tuysday the 16 of Maij the Englis armie footmen with thair troupes of horsemen departed from Edinburgh towardis Glasgow; but vpon advertisement of

16

\* John Lord Fleming, chamberlain of Scotland, and now governor of Dunbarton Castle.

† Probably Sir John Stewart of Minto.

‡ Perhaps the same person, who was afterwards a lord of session.

1570  
May

thair cuming the Hamiltones dissolved the seidge and left thair sowe \* (prepared for vndermynding) eating draff behind them,—so spak a merie man that sawe the sport. What forder ensewes, tyme will try: but the wrytare fearis that Mr Wroth, secretare to the erle of Sussex be ower familiare with Secretare Lethingtoun: and alsmuch of Mr Drewrie Leuetenant to his armie.

Befoir the Englis armie took journey towardis Glasgow the secretare practised what he culd to stay them. And first he sparced a brute, that the Englis armie was onlie cum to search for the quene of Englandis rebelis, and wold have nothing to do with ony vther actione in Scotland: When that inventione wold not serve, he travelled with Sir Wm Drewrie (then levetenant of the armie) that he suld stay all farder iorney, affirming that all the lordis of the kingis factione (so pleased his wisdome to terme honestest men then him self) were not able to comfort him with twb hundreth hors (little less wrote the captane of the castle to Mr Randolph to Berwick). This lyght estimatione of thair forces moved the hartis of the kingis lordis and made thame earnest to crave that there forces myght be sene. The tyme was verie schort, and yet before they passed Linlythgow the erle Mortone alane excedit that num-

\* Sow, an engine of war.

ber duple. While that they rareid certane dayis at Glasgow the erles of Levenox, Glencarne and Semple \* maid most of there folkis in presence of the lievetenant of the Englis armie, and were found that passed vnder batton foure thousand able men, foote and hors, who offered to remane with thame and be at comandment so long as it pleased them to remane : and so was the Secretare ones declared a liare and detractare of Noblemen. God confound his malicious and politicke head.

1570  
May

While that consultatione was had with what order punishment suld proceed against the kingis majesties rebelis, and against such as were suspected giltye of the first and last murther. It was concluded that no executione of ony rigour suld be vsed before that the offendaris suld refuse measour, and so were these headis propoundit and published to all men as followes.

In the first, that they vnderly the law for murther arte and parte therof alsweill comitted against Henrie King of Scottis vpon the tent day of Februar anno 1566, as vpon vmquhile my lord Regentis Grace vpon the 23 of Januare 1569 yeiris, at sic tyme and place as they salbe called to.

Secondlie, that sic persones as hath bene from our soverane lordis obedience and tane armes against his

\* Lord Semple.

1570  
May

majestie and his authoritie in tymes bygane, submit thame selves to vnderly sic ordour therfore as the lordis of the kingis majesties secreat counsall sall appoint. And for there obedience in tymes cuming and furthsetting of his hienes authoritie and service sall give securitie as the saidis lordis sall find expedient.

Thridlie, that they observe the peace betuixt the realmes of England and Scotland in tyme cuming, and gif ony of thame hes alreddie brocken the samyn, be resetting fortefeing menteaning ony of the quenis majesties of Englandis rebellis contrarie to the treatis, that the pledges to be enterit be thame salbe answerable for fulfilling of sic ordour as salbe agreed vpon be the quenis majestie hir counsall and officiaris on that one part, and Robert commendatour of Dunfermling \* ambassadour for the kingis majestie of Scotland now in England, on that vther part.

Last, for observacione of all and sundrie the premisses above written they sall eather enter them selves presentlie or sic vtheris as the saidis lordis sall think gude as pledges ; to be put in sic places as salbe thought necessar. And in the mean tyme they sall subscribe a band to the kingis majestie renunceand all vther bandis and subscriptiones made to what soever persone or persones, hurtfull and preiudiciall to the

\* Robert Pitcairn, afterwards secretary of state.

king our soverane lord his esteat and nobilitie. The 1570  
names of thame that hes subscryved the band. May

Thomas Inglis of Mordochstone  
Robert Hamiltoun of Murehouse  
Mr James Hamiltoun of Peill  
Jhone Stevinstoun of that Ilk  
Robert Dalyell of that Ilk  
Mungo Lockart of Gleghorne  
Gavine Lockart of Kirkwoode  
Andro Hamiltoun of Lethame  
Wm Levinstoun of Jareswood  
The Larde of Belstane  
Thomas Fowles of Brounsyde  
James Bailzee younger of Carfin  
James Weir of Blackwood  
Ernocke  
Wm Krieland of that ilk.  
Alex' Dalyell of Kippie.

Space granted to sic as wold offer obedience. It was  
concludit that the obstinate Hamiltones, traitouris to  
the king and suspected guiltie of both mutheris, suld  
be punised in there substance and be demolising of  
thare places becaus there persones culd not be appre-  
hendit, which was put in execution as the vater of Clyde  
will witness mea yeiris then one. Hamiltoun castle  
was kept stoutlie in the beginning with mony bragging  
wordis be Arthure of Myrehetoun, but how sone he

1750  
May felt the strenth of the culuering battred without ony vther peices of batterie he randred the hous upon sic conditiones as was grānted to him by Sir Wm Drewrie knyght, lievetenent of the armie, which conditiones the said Sir Wm complanes that he performed not. The castell and the palace of Hamiltone spoyled and brunt, the armie repared towardis Glasgow and so to Edinburgh.

The same day of thare returning the Lord Semple was tacken in a hous of his awin dochteris whither be negligence, practice or treasone I suffer vtheris to dispute. But he was careit to Draffan \* whair he remaned certane dayis, and after was convoyed to Argyll be the Lord Boyd, whome God sall recompence according to his wicked mynd and workis.

Befoir the armie returned to Edinburgh, the bird in the cage † took his flight from the castell of Edinburgh and lyghted at length in the Blair of Athole ‡, whair he remained practising his auld craft till the moneth of August. Confound him and his malitious mynd.

Efter that the Englis armie had reposed the self certane dayes at Edinburgh they returned to Berwick without ony grit loss. Conclusion was after taken of the electione of a regent. But first it was thought expedient

\* A castle belonging to the duke of Chatelherault.

† Secretary Maitland.

‡ This was the chief seat of the Earl of Athole: there is a district in the north of Scotland bearing the same name.

to know the Quene of Englandis pleasour and mynd. The erle of Levenox and the kingis lordis past to Stirveling, and from thence directed thair lettres to England and appoynted a new conventionne to begin in Edinburgh the 10 of Julii nixt for finale electione of a regent. In the middle tyme the quene of Englandes lettres were directed to the erle Sussx to be sent to Scotland. The true copie whareof followes.

1470  
May

Elizabeth. R.—Ryght trustie and ryght weilbeloved cosing we greit you weill. This day we have resavit your lettres of the 28 of the last moneth with all vther lettres sent from Scotland and mentionate in your lettres, whairvnto answer is desyred to be gevin befor the 10 of this moneth, which is a verie schort tyme the weghtines of the materis and the distances of the places considered: never the less we have, as the schortness of tyme culd suffer it, resolved to give this answer following, which we will that you by warrant heirof sall caus to be gevin in our name to the erle of Levenox and the rest of the noblemen convened with him.

July

Whair it is by thame in there lettres and wrytingis alledged that for laik of our resolute answer concerning the establissing of the regiment of the realme vnder thair young king great inconvenientis have happened, and therefore they have deferred now at thair last conventionne to determing of the same who sall have the place of governour vntil the 21 [10] of this month, before

1570  
July.

which tyme they requyre to have our advise in what persone or persones the goverment of that realme sal be establised. We accept verie thankfullie the gud will and reputatione they have of vs, in yielding so francklie to requyre and follow our advice in a matter that tuiche the state of thair kyng thair selvis and realme so neir : whairin as we perceave that by our former forbearing to intermedle therein, they have taken some discomfort, as though we wold not have regard to thair state and suretie, so on the other part they of thair wisdomes ought to think that it myght be by the whole world ewill interpret in vs to appoint them a forme of government or a governour by name ; for that howsoever we suld meane weale, gif we suld do so yit it suld not be without sume jelosie or scruple in the headis of the estateis nobilitie and comunitie of that realme that the goverment thereof suld be by vs speciallie named and ordeaned. So as finding difficultie on both partes, and yit mislyking most that the suld tak ony discomfort by our forebearing to shawe our mynd therein, we have thought in this sort to proceid. Considering with ourselvis how now that realme had bene a gud space of tyme reulit in the name of there king and by reasone of the bas age governed heretofore be a verie carefull and honorable persone vntil that be a mischevous persone and pernicious exemple he was murthered, whairby grit disorder and confusion of necessitie had and will more follow,



gif determinatione be not made of some other speciall persone or persones to take the charge as governour or superiour reulare speciallie for administratiōe of law and justice. We can not but verie weill allow the desyre that these lordis have, to have some speciale governour to be chosen. And therefore being weill assured that their owne vnderstanding of all vther is best to consider of the state of that realme, and to decerne of the habileties and qualiteis of that realme, and everie persone meit and capable for such a charge, we sall better satisfie our selvis to allow of ony whome they by there comone consent sall first chose and appoint to that purpose, then of ony to be by vs aforehand vncertanelie named. And that becaus they sall perceave that we have cair of the persone of thair kyng, who be nearnes of blood and in respect of his so young yeiris aught to be verie tender and deare to vs: we sall not hide our opinione from thame, but gif they sall all accord to name his grandfather our cosing the erle of Levenox to be governour alone or joyntlie with vtheris (whome we heare to be in the meane tyme be there comon consent appointed Lieutenant Generall) reason moveth vs to think, that none can be chosen in that whole realme, that sall more desyre the preservatiōe of the king, and be more maid to have the goverment for his savetie, being nixt to him in blood of ony noble man of that realme or els whare. And yit hereby we doe not meane to prescryve to

1570  
July

1570  
July

thame this chose except they sall of them selves full and frielie allow therof. Furthermore we wald have thame assured that whatsoever reportes or devyses are or sall be spred or invented, that we have alreadie yeildit or meant to yeild to altare the state of the king or goverment of that realme, the same are without just cause or grund by vs gewin ; for as we have alreddie aduertised thame that thought we have yeildit to heir (which in honour we culd not refuse) what the quene of Scottis or hir part sall say and offer not onelie for hir awin assurance, but for the wealth of that realme, yit not knowing what the same will be that sall so be offered, we meane not to bracke the order of law and justice, by advanceing hir cause or preiudgene hir contrarie before we sall deliberatlie and assuredlie see upon the hearing of the whole, some place necessarie and just cause so to doe. And therefore finding that realme rewled by a kyng and the same affirmed be lawis of that realme, and therefore invested be coronatione and other solempneties vused and requisite, and generallie so receavit be the whole estates. We meane not be yielding to heir the complentis or informationes of the quene against hir sone to doe ony act whairby to mak conclusion of governmentis, but as we have found it, so to suffer the same to continew : yea not to suffer it to be altered, be ony meanes that we may impesche as to our honour it doeth belong and as by

out late actiones hath manifestlie appeared, vntill by some justice and cleir caus we salbe directlie induced vtherwayis to declare our opinione : and this we wold have thame to know to be our determinatione and courtesie that we meane to hold, whairin we trust they for there kyng may see how planelie and honorable we meane to proceed and how little cause they have to doubt of vs whatever to the contrarie they have or sall heare. And on the vther part we pray thame of thair wisdomes to think how vnhonorable and contrarie to all humane order it were for vs, when the quene of Scotland doeth so many wayis requiyre to heare hir caus and doeth offer to be ordered be vs in the same alsweill for materis betuixt our selvis and hir as betuixt hir self and hir sone and his partie of that realme : against which offeris, no ressonne could move vs to refuse to give eare that we suld afoir hand opinie and directlie before hir causes be heard and considered, as it were give a judgment or sentence eather for our selfis or for thame whome she maketh to be hir contraries. Finallie ye sall admonis thame that they doe not, by misconceaving of our gud meaning towardis thame or by indirect assertiones of thair adversaries grunded vpon vntreuthis, hinder or waiken thair awin cause in such sort as our gud meaning towardis thame sall not tak such effect towardis them

1570  
July

1570  
July

as they sall desyre or thameselvis have neid of. All this our answer ye sall caus to be gewin them and lat them know, that for the schortnes of tyme, this beand the end of the secund day of this moneth, we neather could mak ony longer declaratione of our mynd, nor yit write ony seuerall letteris vnto them as gif tyme myght have served we wold have done. 2 Julii 1570.

This letter publictlye redde was dyverslie interpreted. The kyngis freindis thought the letter friendlie and plane eneugh, vtheris conpleanet vpon some conditionall speaking tending to this end, that that crewell murtherer of her awin husband and most vile adulteres myght be hard, and vpon conditions receaved in this realme agane. In end it was concluded that no suspitione suld be tacken of the Quenis majestie of England nor yit of hir wryting, vnto such tyme as forder danger appeared. And so with comone suffrage the erle of Levenox was elected regent: and becaus that the quenis factione with the murthereris of king Harie, and of the kingis regent James Stewart had erected hir vsurpet and tyrannicall authoritie and had appointed a parliament to be haulding at Linlythgow the 7 of August nixt, the regent and his counsall made strate proclamatione that all faythfull subiects to the king suld keip the said day and place for ganestanding sic enormiteis. The provisione was comandit to be

20 dayis victual.\* Mony noble and gentle men prevented the day, and so was duck Hamiltoun, Huntlie Livetenent and all their confederatis disappointed of that parliament : the peremptour day whair of being expyred coclusion was tacken to visite the north, becaus in Brichen had bene there convention, and there were left some suddartis with thair captanes Moore, Couttis and Wemys. The erle Huntlie with his valiant warrioris Crawford, Ogilbie and Sir James Balfoure, made faythfull promeis (gif faythles men can promeis ony thing faythfullie) that within certaine dayes they suld releive thair captanes and suldartis. The pure men and thair captanes kept the dayis appoynted and beyonde : but they gat no confort except ane bill invented be Sir James Balfoure and conveyed as fra the erle of Huntlie to the duck. The tenor whair of folowes.

1570  
July

Huntlies bill to the Ducke. Pleis your Lordschip be advertised according as was convenit amonges vs, that gif it were possible I suld draw the adversare partie in thir boundis to the effect the purpose ye know myght be performed with gritter ease in thair absence from thea partis. Now it is succedit so that they are

August

\* According to the ancient laws of Scotland all subjects were obliged to attend a general levy for the army, provided with armour suitable to their rank, and with a certain quantity of provisions.

1570  
August come in thir boundis sua that easelie the purpose may be performed, which your L. knowis is peremtour and sic as thereafter we sall never have pingle in this caus; *(gif the bill be true, this could be nothing but the apprehensione and destructione of the kingis persone)* your L. knowis your moyen is sure aneugh and will not feall you; and in absence of thair forces althought at the first it suld not succeid, yit thair can be no relief against you. I sall not fail to hald thame doand in this countrie, yea gif it were to give them battell; which howsoewer it fall ye neid not to tak cair so the peremp-tore be weill handled. Your l. is wise aneugh and can tak tyme, I feare nothing but thair suddaine retreate: gif they pass Dundie or Perth I sall have some moyen in thair tailles that they sall not find so suddane a passage, but they sall be taried a ceasone. Diligence and celeritie is most requisite therin, for therin consistes all interpryses, and it will stand our adversaries on the heid of thair play. My l. Hereis and Loch-inware\* have written to me they sall not fail the tyme appointed howsoewer they have given out to the countrey that they wilbe slaw leist our enimeis suspect. Be circumspect and ware that the interpryse be not disclosed, and gif it be tackin in thair absence ye will haue small difficultie. The man in the craigt

\* Gordon of Lochinvar.

† Sir William Kircaldy.

will kepe his promise, and they be south, will doe  
 thair part (Pharniherst and Balcleugh) sua wishing you  
 to have gud succes I comit your l. to the protectione  
 of God. Of Aberdene the 7 of August 1570. Post-  
 scriptum. Your l. wilbe foresene be ane vther way  
 that I have. This with my awin hand.

0291  
 August

Ane answer to the sclanderous misreport of thame,  
 that be seditious craft and fals narratione labouris to de-  
 face the kingis authoritie and the establising of his  
 regent.

James be the Grace of God king of Scottis to our  
 lovetis Jhone Calder Bute pursewaint, messengeris,  
 our shreffis in that part coniunctlie and severallie speci-  
 allie constitute, greting. Forasmuch as our darrest gud-  
 schire Mathewerle of Levenoxe lord Darnelie our lauch-  
 full tutour and Regent to vs our realme and lieges  
 with the lordis of our secreit counsall vnderstanding that  
 amonges mony vther craftie, subtile and indirect prac-  
 tises vsed be George erle of Huntlie and his adherentis  
 and complices to cover thair lait treassonable rebellione  
 and shamefull defection fra our obedience and authori-  
 tie, which be othe and subscriptione the said erle awow-  
 ed and promised to profes during his life, he hes at last  
 by diveris his missives lettres and vther wayis spokken,  
 written and manifested to the world that the present  
 Regiment is establised in the persone of sic a one as  
 hes sworne and professit his obedience to a forane

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August

realme and vther places neidfull, and thair be oppin  
proclamatione in our name and authoritie mak pub-  
licatione of the premisses to all sundrie our lieges, swa  
that none pretend ignorance of the same, as ye will  
answer therevpon : the which to doe we comitt to you  
coniunctlie and severallie our full power, be thir ovr  
lettres delyvering thame to you dewlie execute and  
endorsate agane to the berare. Gewin vnder our sig-  
nat at Lynlythgow the fyft day of August, and of our  
reigne the feird yeir 1570.

God save the king.

Emprinted at Edinburgh be Robert Leckprivick 1570.

Albeit this former bill was craftelie devysed (was it  
be the heid of wit \* or Sir James Balfoure) to terrifie  
the regent that he suld not remane to truble theris at  
Brichen : yit it servit not, for still lay the campe,  
while captane Couttis and Mvre and 30 of thair sud-  
dartis danded thair fill in coardis and therin endit  
there miserable lyves. Captane Wemyss (becaus his  
fault was alledgit to be the first) escaped for money.  
He blotted the captane of the castle as the principall  
persuader of him to that rebellione whairof thair  
laikis no probabilitie : for the said captane set at fre-  
dome suldeouris that were apprehendit as suspect going

\* Maitland.



to that enterprise, but they were hanged for thair full wages : and sa fair all the cumpany.

1570  
August

In Brichen at that tyme were made tuo proclamations, the one forbidding all men to ressonne of the kingis auctoritie vnder paine of death, the vther answering to Huntlie and his calumnies who had accused the Regent to have bene sworne Englisman, which he denyed : and so gave to Huntlie not a whispered lie, but a lie proclaimed be sownd of trumpet.

The Regent past to the castle of Doun which was randerit without slaughter. That fals and feeble traytour St Colme† was that tyme in the castle of Edinburgh. He is the shame of all Stewardis, and vnworthie to be reckoned amonges men, for that double treasone that he comitted against that pvre man the regent James Stewart.

In this meane tyme there come from Flanderis a little pincke, and in it tuo gentlemen with Mr Johne Hamiltoun called the skyrmisher fra duck d'Alva. The heidis of thair comissione are not yit notified : but the brute is that the lord Seatoun and some vtheris suld pass to Flanderis, that duck d'Alva suld assist them in rebellione against the king. Lord confound thair malitioues myndis.

\* Sir James Stewart of Down : commendator of St Colme. He was an ancestor of the Earl of Murray or Moray. Why is the orthography *Moray*?

1570  
August  
22  
28

The erle of Sussex enterit in Scottis boundis at the west bordour the 22 of August and remaned in the countrie till the 28 of the same. And in that jorney he ceast downe the castles of Annand, Howdome, Dumfreis, Carlawrocke, and the touris of Cowhill, Tynnell and some vtheris that had menteaned the quene of Englandis rebellis. The grit dampnage and skaith fell vpon my lord Maxwell \* and his friendis.

. . . . . our . . . . . sayis  
the Lord Herreis, Mitchell Wyleis † lauchful succes-  
sour did craftelie convoy the young lord in the myre, so  
that by England he and his boundis myght be destroy-  
ed, bot the old vylie fox made a way for him self. Bot  
hell abydis a just punisment for all sic practiseris.

The grit ambassadoris after they had remaned certane  
dayis and be the meanes of lard Adam ‡ brother to  
the lord Huntlie they had tryed the deip of Montros  
heavin, and of certane vther places, they returned to  
Flanderis. All the comfort that they brought Hamil-  
toun, Huntlie, Argyle, and there factione was, that gif  
they wald erect the mess and publictie menteane the

\* John Lord Maxwell, an ancestor of the Earls of Nithsdale. He was created Earl of Morton when that nobleman was forfeit-  
ed; but he afterwards seems to have been deprived of the title.

† Can this be a vulgar corruption of Machiavel? Secretary Maitland is alluded to.

‡ Adam Gordon, of Auchindown.

Romane religione, they suld neather laick men nor money, and that of the popes expenses. This that famous Knyght Sir James Balfoure wroit his gud father the Lard of Burley \*.

1570  
August

To bring better tydingis was direct ane embasadour of the femening gener the Ladie Northumberland, who had not sene hir husband all the tyme he remanet in Lochleawin †. With hir were ioyned to give her comfort in the schip, the vyse Lord Seatoun ; a meitt matche, a Scottis cuckold and ane Englis mesmonger : who knoweth hir better iudge, what I spare to speik.

About the same tyme that counsall of Athole held tuo or thrie dayis, whare heid of witt Mitchell Wylie with his sore feit was. Thair conclusione was not yit detected, this onlie excepted, that Mr Movne servant to the Regent was apprehendit careying dyvers pacquettis to that murtherer of hir husband whome they stile quene, from the erle of Athole, from Mitchell Wylie, secretare Lethingtoun, from the old ladie Seatoun and from dyvers vtheris. Thair is nothing hid but it sal be reveiled.

At this famous counsall of Ballack ‡ were the duck his tuo sonnes, the bischope of St Androis, Mr Gavine Hamiltoun abbot of Kilwining, with that band for

\* Sir Michael Balfour of Burleigh.

† Lochlevin Castle, famed for Queen Mary's captivity.

‡ A district in the north of Scotland.

1570  
August

the Hamiltones, Argyle, Huntlie, Athole, the Secretare, and Sir James Balfoure. The factiones were not of one mynd, for everie man accused vther: which perceived of the great God the secretare, he laid sic a plaister to that wound of variance as he could for the tyme: exhorting them to continew constant in there opinione till the last of September and foure dayis efter, and he vpon his credit promised to have support of strangeris. At this assemblie hardly escaped the Hamiltounis and thair factione, but the purpos was stayed by the erle of Athole, and so they departed vncertane when they sall meit agane.

About the end of August come from France ane pynnas first and efter ane schip with [that] famous embassadour Monsr Virak, (of whome we hard before) a notable pyrate. With him he brought some oringes, some reasinges, sum bisqueat bread, some powder, some bullet and so of omnigaddarin he broght a maledictione to furneis Dumbartoun.

Septem-  
ber

About the myddis of September, the erle of Sussex send wrytingis to the quenis factione (with mony protestationes of vpryght dealing) bearing in effect that there matteris stude in gude case. Whither these letteris were begged or frielie send tyme will declare: bot the Godlie have alwayis suspected the dealing of that man. Efter this come letteris from Mr Randolph, willing him to assure the kingis lordis from the

quene his maistres, that it behoved hir for the preservatione of hir awin esteat to enter in comoning with the Scottis quene, but promised to provyde sufficientlie for the preservatione of the little King. Lat thy providence, O Lord, watch ower that innocent: for England we feare to be to vs as Egypt was to Israell, a broken reid in tyme of grittest neid; bot that will turne to there owin destructione.

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September

The confessione of Mr Jhone Kello minister of Spott, together with his earnest repentance made vpon the scaffold befor his suffering; the fourt day of October 1570, and imprinted at Edinburgh be Robert Leckpriwick. October

To the readare. Efter the executione of Mr Jhone Kello minister of Spot (weilbeloved reider) my purpose was not to have put in write the confessione of his horrible offence which he made vpon the scaffold not long befor his suffering, and wald rather have wished (for my awin part) the memorie thereof to have bene buried, then be ony manis industrie and labouris, sa wicked exemple to have continewed to the posteritie; for I was most assured that his Godlie and vnfeaned repentance had so blotted furth the memorie of his offence from the hartis of all sic that feiris God, that my pen culd serve nothing towardis them but to ingraft greater dolour and lamentatione in thair hartis; and as for the wicked I did easilie perceave thare hartis so obstinatlie indured against the iudgementis of God that

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October

howsoever I write the treuth suld be exponed to them in contēpt and mockinge; which thing albeit I was assured of yit did I never suspect that ony of the vngodlie, and enemies of the trueth suld so farre abandon his awin corrupted conscience as to misreport the whole proceadings of this mater in vther nationes, and thereby to traduce the vndoubted trueth of Christis Evangle; and therefore when it come to my knowledge that sindrie of the poysonet seed of Antichrist had not onlie written in vther cuntreis of this murther, keeping alwayis silence of his vnfeaned and earnest repentance, but lykwayis be divers licentious and vngodlie picturis labored to withdraw the simple from Godis obedience and irreverantlie spak of the servantis of God, I thought it my deuitie to oppone myself vnto thair most vngodlie and blasphemous calumneis, and to intreat the mater planelie as it was, that they to whosis earis the rumour of this fact shuld come myght be the better informed to withstand the wicketnes of thame whosis principall cair is that God in his word may be dishonored. Neather doe I so write to this intent that albeit his lyfe had bene wickit, and continued so to the end that the puritie of Godis trueth culd have bene therby defyled, na mair then the treasonable defec-tione of Judas culd mak the word of lyfe vnsavorie to thame wha confessit Jesus to be the sone of the everlasting God. But that everie ane may vnderstand

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October

that sic examples as they abuse to menteane superstitione servis cheiflie to advancement of Godis glorie; for this wold I learne at ony of them, gif they be able to mak thair profite farther of this tragedie than Sathan him self, whais counsallis be his Godlie repentance was confoundit, and the prey which he had in ane maner devored, be Godis providence, preservit from his tyranie: gif God disapointed the father of iniquitie, how can his childrene erect this baner to the menteanance of his kingdome? But that the trueth may the more evidentlie appeir, I will schortlie comprehend the confessione which he made befor his suffering in presence of the whole people then assemblit, efter that he had made his prayer humblie to God.

*The confessione of Mr Jhone Kello upon the scaffold—*  
I doe not marvell in ony wayis to see sic ane multitude of people assembled at this present to behold the infortunate tragedie of this my wretchit lyfe, for the case is rair, and saving the gud providence of God to be admired and wonderit that I being the creature of God suld have attempted to remove the lyfe from them, in whome God hath planted his awin image: being ane husband, suld vnmercifullie and besydes the law of nature put hand in my awin flesh, but cheiflie being ane minister of Godis word, suld have bene so farre careit captive be the temptatione of the wicket spreit as to dishonour Godis treuth be my horrible ini-

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October quitie and promise that the enemeis of the evangle with oppin mouthis shuld blaspheme Godis eternall veritie. For I perceave at this tyme convenit ane grit multitude, whairof some I doubt not from the bottom of thair hartis dois lament and bevaile my esteat and callis to God earnestlie to continewe the gift of repentance with me. Vtheris are assembled to gest and mocke, not sa mekle at me as at the Evangle, which I (allace) ane vnworthie minister hes before preiched vnto the people; and indeid, all praise alwayis apperteaning to God, I was broght up from my youth in exercise of learning and imployed my mynd so diligentlie to the meditatione of vertue, that I was not esteemed in the leist sort of them that did minister Godis word into this realme. And becaus my first ingres in the kirk of God was vnfeandlie and without hipocrisie to set furth his Godlie name, I have that assurance in his mercies, that albeit he hes suffered me to fall yit he sall not leive me destitute of comfort in the end. But this I wold recomend to everie ane be my exemple, that ye measour not the treuth of Godis word altogether be the lyvis of sic as are appointed pastouris ower you, for they beir the self same flesch of corruptione that ye doe, and the moir Godlie the charge is whairvnto they are called, the reddier the enemie to draw thame back from Godis obedience: And the trueth is, that I my self had not onlie the testimony of a trew preicher in



the countreis whair I did travell, but lykways of ane sinceir and vncorrupted conversatione. Neather was there ony of my vocation within this realme of Scotland that detested more from his hart and publictie in the chayre of trueth the abominable murthereris of Harie Stewart king of this land, and my lord Regent laitly murthered, declaring out of the buke of God that the planges suld never ceis while the land were purget, and the inventaries conspyreris, pertackers, proponet ane publict exemple of Godis severe iudgments. Bot now allase the comitteris therof will have me in thair mouth for ane patroun. What mervell is it, will they say, that ane waik veschell brocht vp in pleasouris, had not the feare of God before hir eyes, when ane minister not of smallest reputatione hes sa trespassed. Wald to God that as they are prompt to speik of my fall, so my repentance to God and confessione of my offence myght sa lyvelie tuiche them, that the appear- and vengeance of God be humiliatione of there hartis myght be removit from this comone wealth. For I wald that ye suld vnderstand that I come not compellit be na men, neather apprehendit be the Justice, but having persuasione of freindis to save my life in some vther countrie, was rather willing to glorifie God in my death, then that my lyfe suld be ane opprobrie and sclander to his trueth.

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Bot now becaus I persave my voce is not able to

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straiche the self vnto the earis of the multitude heir  
convenit, I wilbe content to leive ane schort memoriall  
against my self of my awin offence. For as concern-  
ing the vther whairof I am sclanderit, I tak God and  
his angellis witnessis in the contrarie, that neather had  
I any ingres in the wickit practises of the Magicienis\*  
neather was foorder curious to vnderstand then God  
had manifested in his word. Bot as concerning the  
cryme I doe not deny, but most vnnaturallie I pat  
handis in hir wha at no tyme had gewin me ony iust  
caus of offence, for were it possible that the course of  
my age myght be renewed and the tyme spent brought  
bak agane, there is no flesch I wald rather chose to be  
associat with in marriage then hir: neather did ony  
vther thing move me to this wicked interpryse but  
the continuall suggestion of the wicked spreit to ad-  
vance myself farther and farther in the world. And that  
you may persave the grund of this matter, I had first

\* It is incredible how much the belief of witchcraft and magic formerly prevailed in this country, and how many unhappy wretches were sacrificed to the superstitions of the times. It is but lately, indeed very lately, that the aged have been safe, not only from the vengeance of the laws, but from the fury of the rabble, for supposed powers of incantation. A few years before, a statute had passed against employing *witchcraftes, sorcerie, or nectromancie*: and those who sought any assistance from the users of them, made liable to capital punishment. People, much later than this period, earned a livelihood by being *professional tormentors* for the discovery of witches.

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ane little portione of money in my awin hands which I bestowed in Linlythgow vpon profeit and did wickitlie resave sum gaines and filthie ocker therby, ane thing (allase) ower mekle vsed in this countrie. This maner of dealing kyndelit in me ane desyre of avarice, which the apostle Paull not without caus termit the roote of all ewill. And therfore efter a certane tyme that I had bestowed it in the toun of Spot, I bocht ane portion of land thair, for the which I had wedset landis at Linlythgow and contracted forder dett. Then being disappointed of the ordinar provisione for preiching of the word and not weill entreated of thame whois dewtie was to have taken cair of me, I enterit into ane marvelous perplexitie of mynd and oppened ane reddie windoo to the temptations of the enemye. For I ressoned with my self, that being single without ane partie I myght the more easilie spend my tyme, and nixt in case I wold marrie thereafter I myght ioyne my self with sic one as suld have freindis in the countray to menteane me in my possessione, and procure my farther advancement. Thir were the glistering promises whairwith Satan efter his accustomed maner eludit my senses, and prevailed so in my corrupted mynd that the space of fourtie dayis together I did await onlie vpon the oportunitie of tyme to put my wicked desyre in executione; yit sometimes having the comoditie offered God straike sic terrors in my hart that I was not able to per-

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furneis my intent. Immediatlíe thereafter I was visited with sickness and great diseases which I am assured was the messingeris of God to move my hart to his obedience. But that which suld have servit to abstract my mynd from the conceaved impietie I abused most wick-idlie to bring my purpose to effect: for vnder pretence of sickness I laboured secreitlie to have taken hir away by poyson: and when I perceaved that the cleinness of hir stomache did reiect that violence, I was alwayes preissed forward be the temptatione of the enemie till I had performed that crewell part with my handis against hir, wha in the verie death could not believe I bure hir ony ewill will, bot was glaid as scho then said to depart gif hir death could doe me eather wantage or pleasour: Bot the farther that I doe remember of hir the more intolerable is the burding of my displeasour, which notwithstanding I labored by hipocrasie to have colored, for ane certane space befoir hir death I did mak my testament and therein apointed hir to have the whole cair of my geir and vpbringing of my children, that no man suld supect of me to be authour of that wickitnes which I had consavit, and immediatlíe befoir did spread abroad ane rumoure of hir that sche was tempted terrible in the nyght that it myght thereafter appeir hir self to have bene the authour and murtherer of hir awin self; lykwayis efter I had strangled hir I left the keyis within and escapit by

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ane back dure of my study which was not accustomed to be opened. And when the brute did aryse that sche had murthered hir self, for the gud opinione that everie one had alsweill of my doctrine and conversatione made no men to suspect my innocencie, I did feinyea my self onlie to be solist for hir saluatione, and to dispute with thame that come to comfort me whither that it were possible that sche, who had put handis on hir self, culd be vnder the protectione of God, and whither ony man myght suppois that being vnder so terrible temptatione sche culd ones sob for Godis mercies. And that my affectione towardis hir myght appeir to be greitter, I did so farre abuse the lyght of my awin conscience as to deny in plane termes there was ane God who suffered so innocent a creature give place to the temptatione and rage of Sathane. Which things I passed about most craftelie to conceill: yit the gud providence of God did by lytle and litle bring all thingis to licht and me to that acknowledge of my awin offence that I desyre nathing mair vnder God then to be separate fra the contagione of this wicked flesh, in the which I have so offendit God and dishonored his name. And indeid ther was not small support in the mouth of some faythfull brethren to bring me to this confessione of my awin offence. Bot above all Mr Andro Symson minister of Dumbar did so lyvlie rype foorth the inward cogitationes of my hert and

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discover my mynd so planelie, that I persuadit my self God spak in him; and besydis vtheris notable coniec-  
tures which he truelie dedvced befoir my eyes he re-  
membrit me of ane dreame which in my grit seikness  
did appearandlie present the self. Brother, said he, I doe  
remember when I visitate you in tyme of your sicknes  
ye did expose to me this visione, that ye ware caried  
be ane gryte man befoir the face of ane terrible judge,  
and to escaip his furie ye did precepitate your self in  
ane deip river, when his angelis, and messingeris did  
follow you with two edged swordis, and swer when  
they struick at you, ye did declyne and iouke in the  
water, while in the end by ane way vnknowin to you  
ye did escaip. This visione I doe so interpret that ye  
are the authour your self of this crewell murther then  
consaved in yovr hart, and ye were cariet befoir the ter-  
rible iudgementis of God in your awin conscience  
which now standis in Godis presence to accuse you;  
the messingeris of God is the justice of the countrie  
befoir the which ye salbe presented; the water where-  
in ye stude is that vaine hipocrisie of your awin, and  
feanezed blasphemey of Godis name whairby ye pur-  
pose to colour your impietie; your delyverance salbe  
spirituall. For, albeit ye have vther wayis deservit  
yit God sall pull you furth of the handis of Sathan,  
and caus you confes your offence to his glorie and con-  
fusione of the enemye, neather doe ye in ony wayis

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distrust in Godis promises, for you sall find no syn almost comitted by the reprobat but ye sall find the childrene of God to have fallen in the lyke. And yit the same merceis of God abydis you, gif from your hart you acknowledge your offence and desyris at God pardon. At this tyme did God move my hart to acknowledge the horror of my awin offence and how far Sathan had obteinit victorie ower me. But as the flesh is carefull of the self, I discoursed within my awin hart what thing ratherest to doe for my releif; of the which tuo necessities occuret, eather to abandon this countrie or to remane; gif I left the countrie and accepted the death vpon me, I suld live in perpetuall terror and have the mark of Cain vpon me whairsoewer I went, besydis that I suld leive a perpetuall infamie vpon the kirk of God, whairof befoir I was compted ane member, albeit vnworthie, so suld I conclude to remane. Bot heir had I the battell more strong with my self. For I thought to have dissimuled my fact before the world, and did entere in this argument, that sufficient it was to acknowledge my offense befoir God, neather was it necessar to publish my awin schame befoir men, and did so flatter my self with this reasone while at last, “ what and I be presented before ane iudge, whair confessione of the treuth sal be requyred? Sall I not onlie leive in murther, but heip syn vpon syn and confirme my dampnatione with periurie: sall the love of this

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wretched lyfe so schutt the duoris of my heart that I sall never retorne vfeneadlie towardis my God? Sall I, miserable creature, leive ane imortal sclander vpon the kirk of God, for the which Christ the sone of God gave his life? God forbid!" And sua did I conclude my self to make publict confessione of my offence and to present me to resaife punisment which can not be sufficientlie imagined for my deservingis. And indeid this farre I do witnes, that I was evidentlie trubled and diseased not onlie in mynd but in bodie also, ewen when I resolved with my self to tak this iornay in hand, and sensyne I have bene at sic rest of both that I am at a quyetnes with God in my conscience, and hes sic strength of bodie as I had not this long tyme agoe. Now, brethren, ye have hard the confessione of my offence, and I desyre everie one of you that is Christianes, in Godis name to forgive me of that sklander which I have reased be my exemple, especiallie you brethren who are called to be preicheris of his word, whois doctrine and labouris Sathan had labored in me to evert. Bot praised be God, he is tacken in his awin craft, and so farre doe I trust in his merceys that I salbe compted amonges his elect whois names are written in the buike of lyfe. Desyring you all to incall earnestlie vpon God to continue his favour and grace with me to the end.

This being endit he prostrat himself vpon his face,



and made so Godlie a prayer that made everie ane 1570  
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to murne. First confessing that God was ane iust  
God, who had revealed his offence to the world, de-  
syryng lykwayis that the innocent murtheris comitted  
before myght be manifestit, and the land purgit frome  
blood. Nixt he confessit him to be ane God of mercie  
wha wold not suffer this blot to lye vpon his church  
neather him self in the end to be overcome be Sathan ;  
and therfore humblie desyred for Chrystis saik to be  
receaved in Godis favoure that the deipnes of Godis  
gudnes myght be knowin to pas the whole iniquitie of  
man. And so efter constant confessione of Godis mer-  
ceis and incalling of his name, he yeildit the spreit in the  
handis of our Salvior the 4 day of October 1570. Finis.

September endit, but the support of strangeris come  
not as the Secretare promised. Grit labouris was made  
to stay the parliament which was appointed to begyn  
the 10 of October. The captane of the castle was  
requyred to delyver the honoris, to wit the Sword, the  
Cepter, and the Crown, which of ancient custome have  
bene borne in tyme of parliament\*. In the begining  
he gave doubtfull answer : but at the end he vterlie re-  
fused thame, thinking thairby to have stayed the par-  
liament. But he was disceaved ; for the estatis thocht

\* When the castle was taken 1573, the regalia were found con-  
cealed in Kircaldy's apartment.—It is singular that so much ob-  
scurity should attend the fate of the Regalia of Scotland : for it is

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it no more syn to fense and hold a parliament without these ceremonies, then a good bischop neidis to mak scruple of conscience to mak a sermond without his rocket, myter, and ring. In that parliament was nothing done except the approbatione of the Regent in his regentrie be the esteatis. Other thingis were delayed at the Quene of Englandis request. The assurance was granted to the quenis factione for tuo monethis. The parliament wes prorogat to the 14 of Januare. The Hamiltones, Hepburnes, Huntlie, and the rest of the murtheraris, looked most assuredlie for the comfort and presence of thair head the quene within a moneth. God may disapoynt them, as justlie he hes done before.

not known whether they were destroyed : sent to the tower of London : or are still in Edinburgh castle, where they were deposited 1707. A few years ago a report was circulated, that there were some papers of consequence in the same apartment (the Crown room) : and a warrant from Government was obtained to open it ; which was done in presence of several of the officers of State. However nothing appeared except a chest covered with dust. Instead of investigating whether any thing was contained in it, one of the party sagely observed that their *commission was only to open the room*. The author of this wise remark, it is said, was a judge of the supreme court.

On the whole it may be considered probable, that the Scottish regalia were prudently destroyed by order of government, during the rebellion 1715, or 1745.

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In the middes of all these thair mirrie conceates was revealed a misterie which is not yit come to comone knowledge. A present was send (we suppose from the witches of Athole)\* to the quene murtherar of Scotland. The present and the portratoure was this. A prettie hart horne, not exceading in quantitie the palme of a manis hand, was arteficiallie wrought and perfected at all poyntes with gold. In the head of it was couriously engraven the armes of Scotland. In the neather part of it was a throne and a gentlewoman sitting in the same in hir rob royall with a crown vpon hir head : vnder hir feit was a rose, environed with a thissell and vnder that were tuo lyones, the one biggare and the other les. The biggar lyon held his pawe vpon the face of the vther as his lord and comander. Vnder all this was written,—*Fall what may fall, the lyon sall be lord of all.*

This misterie be verie secreat moyen come to the knowledge and sight of Mr Randoph, who perceaving to tuiche his maistres so neyr fand the favour of the first revealer to have the principall, which with his lettres he send to the erle of Sussex, willing him to comunicat it with the principall of the court there : which gif he have nocht done he iustlie may be suspected of treasone bypast and present now in the hartis and

\* Probably some of the queen's party, assembled at the Blair of Athole. But the passage is so enigmatical, that this is uncertain.

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handis of mony. In this meane tyme was this prophecie forged, whither in England or Scotland God knoweth. The prophecie :

The howlat sall leade the beare to his bane,  
The court of England that is so wantoun  
Shall shortlie be brought to confusione  
The quene of Engand sall die the 12 yeir of hir regne.  
*The wryter.*

Such prophecies smell of secreat treassone, as allace experience teacheth vs in the murther of James regent of Scotland. Lord confound thou the devyses of the wicked blood thristie.

The parliament dissolved and the lordis returned to there awin duelling places. The poore regent was left in Edinburgh all most alone. His men of warre were send some to Glasgow, some to Hamiltoun and some to vther places, to tak thair wages of the kingis enemeis. Whairvpon the duckis tenentis were poyn-dit and thair cattell driven to Edinburgh.

In this meane tyme Jhone Knox was stricken with a kynd of Apoplexia, called by the phisitiones Resolutione, whairby the perfect vse of his tovng was stopped. Heir-of did the wicked not a litle reioys. The brute passed not onlie throuth Scotland but also to England, that he was become the most deformed creature that ever was sene. That his face was turned into his neck : that he was dead, that he wold never preich nor yit

speik. Wharin God within few dayis declared thame liaris, for he convalescet and so returned to his exercise of preiching at leist vpon the Sounday.

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The brute of the appointment of the tuo Quenis daylie augmentit, insomuch that the kingis enemeis eschamed not to affirme that the quene suld be in Scotland and peaciablie in hir authoritie befor Yule day. In esperance hereof all the kingis enemeis reiosed, and took vnto thame selvis bouldnes to doe what they wist. But amonges vtheris the erle of Cassilis comitted such creweltie as seldome hes bene hard done be ony mortall man.

*The erle of Cassilis tyranny against a quick man* \*—  
Maister Allane Stewart freind to Captane James Stewart of Cardonall, be meanis of the quenes corrupted court, obteaned the abbacie of Croseraguall. The said erle thinking him self gritter then ony king in thea quarteris determined to have that whole benefice (as that he hes dyvers vtheris) to pay at pleasour: and becaus he culd not find sic securitie as his insatiable appetite requyred, this shift was devysit. The said Mr Allane beand in cumpany with the lard of Bargany was be the said

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\* It appears from the chronology that the author has engrossed these events as belonging to the period of October and November. Several instances of apparent inaccuracy afterwards occur: which render it difficult for the editor, who has added all the marginal chronology, to preserve perfect uniformity.

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erle and his freindis entyset to leave the savegard which he had with the said lard and come [to] make gud cheir with the said erle. The simplicitie of the imprudent man was suddenlie abused : and sua he passed his tyme with thame certane dayes ; which he did in Maybole with Thomas Kennedie father brother to the said erle. Efter the which the said Mr Allane passed with quyet cumpany to visie the place and boundis of Croceraguall, whair of the said erle being surelie aduertised, determined to put in practeis the tyranny which long before he had conceived. And so, as king of the countrie, apprehendit the said Mr Allane, and carried him to the hous of Dunure, where for a sease he was honorablie entreated (gif a prisoner can think ony interteanment pleasing) : but after that certane dayis were spent and that the erle culd not obtene the fewis of Croceraguall according to his awin appetite, he determined to prove gif a collatione could work that which neather denner nor supper could doe of a long tyme. And so the said Mr was caried to a secreat chalmer ; with him passed the honorable erle, his worschipfull brother, and sic as was appointted to be servantis at that banquet. In the chalmer there was a grit iron chimlay, vnder it a fyre ; other grit provisione was not sene. The first cours was, My lord abbot (said the erle) it will pleis you confess heir that with your awin consent ye remane

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in my cumpany, becaus ye darre not comitt you to the handis of vtheris. The abbote answerit, Wald ye, my lord, that I shuld mak a manifest leising for your pleasour : the treuth is, my lord, it is against my will that I am hier ; neather yit have I ony pleasour in your cumpany. Bot ye sall remane with me at this tyme, said the erle : I am not able to resist your will and pleasour, said the abbot, in this place. Ye man then obey me, said the erle, and with that were presentit vnto him certane letteris to subscriue, amonges which ther was a fyve yeare tack and a 19 yeare tack, and a charter of few of all the landis of Croceraguall, with all the clausses necessaire for the erle to haist him to hell. For gif adulterie, sacriledge, oppressione, barbarous creweltie, and thift heaped vpon thift deserve hell, the great king of Carrick can no more eschape hell for ever nor the imprudent abbot escaped the fyre for a cessone, as followes.

Efter that the erle espyed repugnance, and that he culd not come to his purpose be fair means, he comandit his cockis to prepare the bancquett, and so first they fled the scheip, that is, they took of the abbotis cleathes ewin to his skyn, and nixt they band him to the chimlay, his leggis to the one end and his armes to the vther, and so they began to bait the fyre sometymes to his buttockis, sometymes to his legis, sometymes to his shulderis and armes. And that the rost suld not burne,

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but that it myght rest in soppe, they spared not flambing with oyle ; (Lord luik thou to sic creweltie) and that the crying of the miserable man suld not be hard they closed his mouth that the voice myght be stopped. (It may be suspected that sum practisiane of the kingis murther was there). In that torment they held the poore man till that oftymes he cryed for Godis saik to dispatche him : for he had alsmekle gold in his awin purse as wald bye poulder aneugh, to schorten his paine. The famous king of Carrick and his coockes perceaving the rost to be aneuch, comandit it to be tane fra the fyre, and the erle him self began the grace in this maner : *benedicite Jesus Maria*, you are the most obstinat man that ever I saw, gif I had knowin that ye had bene so stubburne I wold not for a thousand crownis handled you so. I never did so to man befor you. And yit he returned to the same practeis within two dayes, and ceassed not till that he obteaned his formest purpose ; that is, that he had gottin all his pieces subscryvit, alsweill as ane half rosted hand culd doe it. The erle thinking him self sure aneugh so long as he had the half rosted abbote in his awin keping, and yit being eschamed of his presence be reasone of his former crueltye, left the place of Dunvre in the handis of certane of his servantis, and the half rosted abbote to be keapit thair as prisoner. The laird of Barganie, out of whose cumpanie the said abbote was entysed, understanding (not the



extremitie) but the reteaning of the man, send to the court and reased lettres of delyvrance of the persone of the man according to the ordour, which being disobeyed the said erle for his contempt was denounced rebell and put to the horne. But yit hope was thair none neather to the afflicted to be delyvered, neather yit to the purchaser of the letters to obtain any comfort therbye; for in that tyme God was despysed, and the lauchfull authoritie was contemned in Scotland in hope of the suddane returne and regiment of that crewel murtherer of hir awin husband of whose lordis the said erle was called one, and yit ofter than once he was solemnedlie sworne to the king and to his regent. The trew report and narratione of this fact is to be sene in this act made befor the privie counsall vnder Alexander Hayis hand write. .

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At Stirveling the 27 of Apprile 1571 yearis\*. A-  
nent the complante made be Mr Alane Stewart com-  
mendatour of Crosraguall against Gilbert erle of  
Cassilis, Thomas maister of Cassilis his brother, and  
thair complices, conteanit in the said Mr Alanes sup-  
plicatione, whairof the tenour followes :

Vnto your Grace and lordis of secreit counsall, hum-  
blie meanes and schaws your servitour Mr Alane Stewart  
commendatour of Crosraguall, that whair, vpon the 29

\* This alludes to the time when the legal proceedings took place.

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day of August last by past I beand within the wood of Crostraguall doand my leasome earandis and busines, belevand no harme nor invasione to have bene done to me be ony persone or persones ; Nottheles Gilbert erle of Cassilis, Thomas Mr of Cassilis with thair complices, to the number of .16 persones or therby, come to me and persuadit me be thair flatterie and deceatful wordis to pas with them to his castle and place of Dunvre, being allwayis myndit gif I had made refusall to pass with them to have tacken me perforce. And he putand me within the same, that I suld be in sure firmance commandit sex of his servantis to avait vpon me, so that I ischewit not, wha tuike fra me my hors with all my weaponis, and then departed while the first day of September thereafter, that he come agane and requyrit me to subscriye to him ane few chartour brought with him made in parchement : of the whole landis parteaning to the said abbacie, together with 19 and 5 yeir tak of the fructis teyndis and dewities therof as he alledgit of the whole kirkis and personages perteaning thairto ; whairof I never redd a word of, answerit it was a thing vnreasonable, and that I could na wayis doe, in respect the same long of befoir was alreddie<sup>u</sup> disponit to the kyndlie tenentis and possesseris therof, and to James Stewart of Cardonall, and therefore the samin being furth of my landis I culd na wayis grant his vnreasonable desyre. Wha

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then, after long boasting and minassing of me, caused me to be cariet be Jhone Kennedie his baxter, Jhone M'leir his cuike, Alexander Ritchard his pantriman, Alexander Eécles and Sir William Tode, to ane hous callit the black voute of Dunvre, whair the tormenteris denudit me of all my cleathis perforce except onlie my sark and doublat, and then band bayth my handis at the shakle-bones with ane corde, as he did bayth my feet, and band my soilles betuixt an iron chimlay and a fyre, and beand bound therto could no wayis steir nor move, but had almost inlaikit through my crewell burning. And seing na vther appearance to me but eather to condescend to his desyre or elis to continew in that torment while I died, tuke me to the longest lyfe, and said I wald obey his desyre albeit it was sore against my will. And for to be relevit of my said paine subscrivit the foir named charter and tackis whilk I never yit red nor knew what therin was conteaned ; which beand done, the said erle causit the said tormentouris of me sweir vpon ane byble never to reveill ane word of this my vnmerciefull handling to ony persone or persones. Yit he not beand satisfeid with their proceidings, come agane vpon the 7 day of the foirsaid moneth, bringand with him the samyn charteour and tack which he compellit me to subscribe, and requyred me to ratiffie and approve the same befor notar and witnessis, which alluterlie I re-

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fused, and therefore he as of befoir band me and pat me to the same maner of tormenting, and I said, notwithstanding, he suld first get my lyfe or ever I agreit to his desyre, and being in so grit paine as I truste never man was in with his lyfe, whair I cryed, Fye vpon you, will ye ding whingaris in me and put me of this world, or elis put a barrell of poulder vnder me, rather nor to be demaned in this vnmercifull maner. The said erle hearing me cry, bade his servant Alexander Ritchard put ane serviat in my throat, which he obeyed. The same being performed at xi horis in the nyght, wha then seing that I was in danger of my lyfe, my flesch consumed and brunt to the bones, and that I wald not condescend to thair purpose, I was releivit of that paine whairthrow I will never be able nor weill in my lyfetime. Sic ane creweltie never being hard of befoir done to ony frie persone that had not comitted offence. And gif your Grace and Lordschipes takis not gude order, heiranent for punishment of the same, it will giue occasione to vtheris proude persones, contemners of the kingis Grace authoritie, to brek gude ordor and truble the comone weall of the countrie. And for declaring of the said erles wicked mynd towardis me hes wrangouslie by all ordour of justice intromettit with and tane vp my whole leving of Crosraguall at his awin hand without ony title or richt thir thrie yeiris bypast, Lyk as he yit continewis

therinto, taking no feare of our soverane lordis lettres or charges vsed in his name ewin as he were ane exemit persone not subiect to lawes, but myght doe all thingis at his pleasour : As it is not vnknawin vnto your Grace and Lordschipis of my deteaning captive, that I obteaned both lettres of horning, and lettres chargene him vnder paine of treassone to put me at libertie, yit he continewallie disobeyed the same, and both past to the horne and also incurrit the said paine of treassone, as the saidis lettres of horning and treasone executiones and indorsationes therof heir present to schaw, beiris. Heirfore in maist humble maner, I beseik your Grace and Lordschipis to have consideratione of the premisses, and that it will pleis your Grace to comand and charge the said erle to bring and present before your Grace and Lordschips the forenamed few charteour and tackis at sic day as your Grace pleasis to assigne, and vnder sic panes as your Grace thinkis expedient, and they beand producit to be determit of none avail for the causes above written. And als to caus and compel him to find me catione and sovertie or he depart therefra, that he nor none in his name in all tymes cuming sall intromet or medle with ony part of my said leving of Crosraguell, but to suffer me to vse the same and intromett therwith at my pleasour conforme to my provisione. And in lyk maner I beseik your Grace nocht to oversie the vsurped authoritie taken vpon him in the wrongous tor-

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October menting of me, be reassone the same onlie appertenis to your Grace. And ye suld sie the samyn punist in example of vtheris. And your Grace and Lordschipis answer:—And anent the wairning to the said Gilbert erle of Cassilis to compeir befor my lord regentis Grace, and lordis of secreit counsall at ane certane day to answer to this complante, the said erle compear and personallie alledged the pointis of the said complent to be eather civile or criminall, and that he aught not to answer therto bot befor the Iudges competent. My lord Regent with the advise of his said counsall, no wayes willing to preiudge the ordiner Iurisdiction and Iudgement or hinder ony parteis rychtis or defens, but onlie to provyde for the quyetnes of the realme and to forbid violent forse; therefore ordanes and comandis the said Gilbert erle Cassilis being personallie present to find catione and sovertie actit in the bukes of secreit counsall, that he nor none that he may lett, sall invaid, molest nor persew the said Mr Alane Stewart in his bodie, nor yit medle or intromett with his place and leving of Crosraguell, or vptak the fructes, renttis, proffetis or dewiteis therof vther wayis nor be order of law and iustice, vnder the paine of tuo thowsande pundis. And als ordanes the said erle to find the lyk catione and sovertie and vnder the same paine to Mr George Buchwhannan pensioner of Crosraguell being personallie present, and cravit the same alsweill for his awine per-

sone as his pensione. And incais the said soverteis be not found befor the said erle depart furth of Stirling, that alwayes the same be found before he be releavit of his warde whair he is appointed to remane, although the vther occasiones that he is wardit for were accomplished and fulfilled be him. Extractum de libro actorum Secreti Consilii Supremi Domini Nostri Regis per me Alexr Hay deputatum. Subscrivit *Alexander Hay*. 1570  
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The said larde of Barganie perceaving that the ordiner Justice (the oppressed as said is) could neather help him, nor yit the afflicted, applyed his mynd to the nixt remedie, and in the end be his servandis tuke the house of Dvnvre whair the poore abbote was keapit prisoner. The brute flew fra Carrik to Galloway. And so suddanelie assemblit hird and hyre man that perteaned to the band of the Kennedies: and so within few horis was the hous of Dunver invironed agane. The maister of Cassilis was the frackast and wald not stay, but in his heat wald lay fyre to the dungeon, with no small boasting that all enemeis within the hous suld die. He was requyred and admonised be those that were within to be more moderat, and not to hazard him self so foolislie. But no admonition wald help till that the wind of ane hacquebute blasted his shulder, and then ceased he from further persute in furie. The lard of Bargany had before

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purchest of the authoritie lettres, chargene all faythfull subiectis to the kingis majestie to assist him against that crewall tyrant and mensworne traytor the erle of Cassillis : which lettres (with his privie wrytingis) he publissit, and schortlie fand sic concurrance of Kyle and Cunynghame with his vther freindis, that the Carrik company drew bak fra the hous ; and so the vther approched, furnisit the hous with mea men, delyvered the said Mr Allane, and caried him to Ayre, whair publictlye at the mercat croce of the said towne he declared how crewellie he was entreated, and how the murthered king sufferit not sic torment as he did : that onlie excepted he escaped the death. And therefore publictlye did revoicke all thingis that were done in that extremitie, and speciallie he revoiked the subscriptione of the thrie wrytingis, to wit, of a fyve yeir tak and 19 yeir tak, and of a charter of few. And so the hous remaned, and (till this day the 7 of Februaire 1571)\* in the custodie of the said Larde of Bargany and of his servantis. And so creweltie was dissapointted of proffeit present, and salbe eternallie, vnless he earnestlie repent. And this far for the creweltie comitted (to give occasione vnto vtheris and to such as heat the monstrous dealing of degenerat nobilitie) to luke more diligentlie vpon thair behaviouris

\* Probably the time when the author made his transcript.



and to paint thame foorth vnto the world that they  
 them selvis may be eschamed of thair awin beastlines,  
 and that the world may be advertised and also admo-  
 nished to abhore, detest and avoide the cumpany of  
 all sic tyrantis, who are not worthie of the societie of  
 men, but ought to be send suddanlie to the devill with  
 whome they most burne without end, for there con-  
 tempt of God, and crewaltie comitted against his  
 creatvris. Lat Cassillis and his brother be the first  
 to be the exemple vnto vtheris. Amen. Amen.

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The quenis suddan hamecuming trotted in the  
 mouthis of all the kyngis enemeis. Yule was ap-  
 pointed for the last day. The postis gat no reste be-  
 twixt the Castle of Edinburgh and the North, whair  
 the Secretare, that grit God to the Captane called Sir  
 William Kircaldie of Grange, Knyght, whose confede-  
 racy with the kingis enemeis was long before sene  
 and suspected of mony. But yit the former honestie  
 of the man stayed the hartis of all the faythfull in  
 thair former gude opinione of him, vnto such tyme as  
 his rebellione so brusted furth as none culd excuse it.  
 The mater fell out as followes.

Jhone Kircaldie sone to vmquhile Patrik Kirkcaldie,  
 father brother to the said Sir William, now larde of  
 Grange, receaveth some iniurie in the town of Dun-  
 fermeling be one George Durie (as after wilbe declar-  
 ed) in whose cumpany was one Henry Seatoun, who

Decem-  
 ber  
 21

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schort thereafter reparing to the toun of Edinburgh, his busines being endit was to returne to his master ; and being fordwart in his iornay with his hors which was boted at Leyth, and he himself in reddines to have entered, the larde of Grange captane had gewin charge to sex of his principall servantis to stryk the said Henrie with a batton. In recompense of the iniurie done to his kinsman who attending vpon the said Henrie presentit the batton vnto him vpon the schoir of Leyth. The said Henrie beinge vnpatient to be dunge as a doge, maid him for defence and hurt ane of the sex, who being vnmyndfull of thair charge receavit, left the batton and fell to the scharpest waponis they had, and so set vpon one schortly and crewellie murdered him, after that the cable of ane anker had taken his feit from him, and sought to win thair strenth the castle be speid of fute. One of the number named Fleming was apprehendit, and put in the towbuith of Edinburgh. The captane stormed and bad intreat his man weill, for he wald not suffer his man to die for obeying his comandement.

21 That day, which was thurisdai the 21 of December he made his preparationes without and within. Without he had the deaconis of the craftis, and be thair meanis the rable of the craftismen, reddie eneugh to vproare and tumult, were easelie persuadit to fortifie his enterprise. Within the castle were the cannonis

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mounted, and a ram \* was made to mak oppin doores. And sua betuix sex and sewin at nyght, the most part of men being at supper †, his men of weir, and servandis issued out of the castle, and without ony noyse or clamour come to the towbuith. The number was not grit that made the first assault : but the preparatione made for their savegard was not little, for all be the which men myght have assembled to have stayed thair interprise, were stopped be men armed with culveringis, pickis, and vther long weaponis. The darknes of the nyght hid thair faces, but God will reveale them at his gud pleasour, and a vigilant magistrat myght easelie smell them out. The captan himself, accompanied with the Lord Home, keapit the vpper warde above the over trone to be thair saivegard, that none suld cum betuixt them and the castle. Farder provisione was made, that none suld have acces to the comon bell, and sua all thingis put in order, the lard of Drylay cheif leader of that band began to requyre open doores. The Jeaweller denying, the Ram was put to the work, and quicklie prevaled against all doores : and so was the hous of Justice violated. The recen murtherer rest fra the handis of the magistratis,

\* The reader will observe with some surprise this engine named at so late a period. But it should be remembered that we cannot ascertain its particular kind or description : therefore it may merely be a beam or log of wood.

† Six or seven seems to have been the usual hour of supper.

1570 and libertie proclaimed to all malefactoris that wald  
Decem. tak the captanes parte. In the end, to give defyance to  
the regent in his face, the grit ordinance of the castle  
schot. The towne was in grit feare; but small, yea  
na danger was done except Jhone Wallace hous was  
schot thorough, and a corne stak and a barne in the  
Canongait : \* And so God sent rest for that nyght.

24 Sondag following, which was the 24 of December,  
Jhone Knox preiched, and omittit not to reprove as he  
myght sic disorder : And affirmed that in his dayes he  
never saw so sclanderous, so malepart, so fearfull and  
so tyrannous a fact ; for, said he, gif the comitter had  
bene a man without God, a throt cutter and sic ane  
as had never knawin the workis of God, it had movit  
me no more, then vther ryotis and enormiteis that my  
eyes have sene the prince of this world Sathan (be  
his instrumentis wicked men) raise vpon against Jesus  
Christ now preiched ; bot to see staris fall from hea-  
vin, and a man of knowledge to comit so manifest  
treassone, what Godlie hart can not but lament, trem-  
ble and feare ? God be mercifull, for the exemple is  
terrible, and we have all neid earnestlie to call to God,  
lead vs not into temptatione, and speciallie to delyver  
vs from the cumpany of the wicked ; for within these  
fewe yeiris man wald have loked for vther fruitis of  
that man then now have buddet furth. As the subse-

† This shews how limited the city was at that time in extent.

quentis will declair. At this sermonne and particulare reprehensione the captan of the castle was so offendit, that both God and warldlie honestie were forgot in that rage, for in what furie he burst furth dyvers men of sufficient credite can testifie. But against him will we produce nothing which his awin hand write and plane factis suld not verifie. That same sonday at efternone he wrote a ticket to Mr Jhone Craig minister, in this sentence, and send it doone with a servant wha delyverit it to Mr Craig being in the pulpit. The letter is this, written with his awin hand.

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“ This day Jhone Knox in his sermond openlie callit me a murtherer and a throtcutter ; whairin he hes spocken forther then he is able to iustifie ; for I tak God to be my dampnatione gif it was my mynd, that that manis bloud suld have been sched whairof he hes callit me the murtherer. And the same God I desyre from the bottom of my hart to poure out his vengeance suddanlie vpon him or me, whidder of vs tua hes bene most desyrus of innocent blood : this I desyre you in Godis name to declair oppinlie to the people. At Edinburgh Castle the 24 of December 1570.”

This ticket was presentit be the captanes awin servand to the said Mr Jhone Craig in pulpet. But he wiselie answerit that he durst reid nathing in that place, without the knawledge and consent of his churche. And so that dart being schot, the strenth

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of it vanisit. And yet the brute and veritie of it posted from Edinburgh castle to me<sup>a</sup> cuntreis then one. To schaw his greif and his offence farther against Jhone Knox, he directed his complent to the sessione of Edinburgh in forme as followes.

*The larde of Grange, Captane of the Castle of Edinburgh, his complent vpon Jhone Knox, gewin in to the Sessione of the Church of Edinburgh the 28 of December.*

Vnto your wisdomes humblie meanes and schawis : I your servitor and ane of your brethren William Kircaldie of Grange knyght. That whair Jhone Kircaldie my cousing germane being laitlie charged to compeir in ane Iustice court haulden within the toun of Dunfermeling vpon the xi day of December instant, to pas vpon the assise of certane persons called for the slaughter of vmquhile Jhone White in Kircaldie, my cousing, at comand of the charge, as an obedient subiect, repared to Dunfermeling in sober and quyet maner, his alone without armour†, luiking for no truble, harm, iniurie, or displeasour to have bene done to him, bot to have lived vnder Godis peace and the kingis. Nevertheles George Durie and Lowrie Du-

\* A strong indication of the spirit of the times, when one durst hardly step beyond the threshold of his own door from the danger of assassination.

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rie, brether to the larde of Durie and umquhile Henrie Seatoun his servant with thair complices, come to the said Jhone as he was passand to the kirk of Dufermeling, and efter few wordis speaking, the said George tuke him with his steikit neive vpon the face as he had bene altogether vyle and ignoble, and not in ranck, place, or number of gentle or honest men, without ony offence, provocatione, or occasione gewin, be the said Jhone in word, deed, or countenance to be so contempteouslie and schamefullie vsed. And in the mean tyme the said Henrie and remanent persones, being with the said George Durie in cumpany, drewe thair swordis and had slane the said Jhone Kirkcaldie my cousing, were not the prowtest of Dunfermeling come and pat them fra him; vpon ald feid, for thought felony, set purpose and provisione. Efter the which the said Henry Seatoun, not satisfest with thir iniuries, but still malignant and perseverand in his wickit mind and conceavit malice against me and myne, schortlie come to this burgh of Edinburgh, purposelie as appeared to put his heatred further in executione against some of my friendis, as indeid sindrie inocent men hes of before had ower grit prufe of his vnmercifull dealing, whair he myght see advantage or be master, which I delyte not farder to rehers nor may serve to manifest the grund and occasione of the lait truble. And the said Henrie, being thus in Edinburgh, most disdanfullie

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passeth vp and down the toun, and most proudlie crossed my servantis geatis with sic jesting and mocking meanes and countenance as wold have irritate and comovit the most pacient flesh leving, throw whose contemptuous provocatione I was moved, and send certane of my servantis to Leyth to have dovng him with ane battone in semnable maner as he had and his complices of before dung the said Jhone Kircaldie my cousing with thair neiwes, which my servandis never drew sword while he had hurt one of thame, they nor none of thame having vther counsaill or comand of me to sched that manis bloud, as I man answer in Godis presence, but onlie, as I have said, to have recompensed the schamefull cuffing and misvsing of my kinsman, quhilk I tuke to be done for my cause as your wisdomes may easelie credit it was. For it is notoriouslie knawin that the principallis of the saidis Hendreis bloud (I mean the hous of Durie) hes done to me and myne mony grit offences, grivous iniuries, and exhorbitant displesoures: the principall of that hous being the chief author of the death and destructione of my grandschir the lard of Raith with the ruyne of his hous. And sensyne, have they not daylie and continuallye molestit and trubled vs, his posteritie and freindis, in our ryghteous titles, native rowmes, and auld possessiones; and yit, praised be God, we never made vs to tak revendge therof be way of deid or blude-



sched, but patientlie have sufferit and susteained the same as Christianes. Nevertheles, how ignomineouslie I have bene spokken of in pulpet and publict sermond vpon Sonday last the 24 of December instant, be Jhone Knox, our minister; your wisdomes selves that were auditoris thereto, can beir record. For not al-  
lanerlie hes he set me furth in his said sermond for a crewell homicide or manslear, bot als for a oppin traitour, vnmercifull murtherer, and plane throt cutter, designand me be my name in speciall, geving the auditor to vnderstand that he had certane knowledge, proof, and experience of my nature and inclinatione to be bent to murther and bloodsched; saying also, that when he sawe me in miserie, as vther pure men was, I devysed to have sought my delyverance be blood sched, bot was stayed therfra be the counsall of vtheris, and not be my awin inclinatione, which I tak God to witnes is not of veritie; which particulare accusatione was express contrare the actis, ordinances, and practises of our kirk, observit in sic cases, namelie, at the first admonitione, and against the rewle of Christiane charitie. And sua in effect, hes accused, iniuried, and sclanderit me in most opprobrious and particulare maner, befoir ony admonitione, citatione, or declaratione; and, sa far as in him lyes, condempned me, befoir tryall, of my caus or declaratour preceeding; whilk, probablie, he hes done of

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Decem. privat grudge to alienat the hartis of all honest men fra me, and to mak me odious and contemptible, rather then for correctiones caus. In that he hes past the boundis of discretione, and left the order and discretione of ane cairfull pastor in his rigorous and particulare threatenings, without admonitione or tryall preceeding, which rather myght have cassin me in despair (as God forbid) then have reducit me in the way of repentance, incase I had bene culpable and guiltie of sic horrible crymes as he particularlie rehersed, to my sclander and ignominie, whair of (praised be God) my conscience is no farder burdenit, then I have declarit to Mr Jhone Craige and Mr Clement Little \*. Theirfore, I beseik your wisdomes gravelie to weay and considder the premissis, and how far our minister hes transcendit his boundis in his speciale accusatione and sclandering of me, chargeine me wronguslie and partiallie with sic grivous offences as are befoir expressit; and, therefore, your wisdomes be your iudgment and authoritie, will caus me to be repared to my honour, and restored to my gude name and fame, in the self same place whair I was so sclanderouslie calumniat, befoir admonitione geven, and cognitione tane in my caus: And therin regard indifferentlie the offence of the minister being bot flesch and blood, and clad

\* Mr Clement Little, advocate, founded a library in Edinburgh, 1580, for the *promotion of religion and piety*.

with malice passionis, as vther in the flock are. And in sa far as I have bene offensive to the kirk, I am content, with all humilite, at time and place convenient, to submit myself to your Godlie willis and correctione. And your wisdomes answeare humblié I besik. 1570  
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This lettre offerit to the sessione, and red in the same, it was thought most resonable that the copie therof suld be send to the partie accused who long befor had bene seik, and never come out in publict except on the Sonday before noon to mak the sermonde, and so the lybell and accusatione presentit to the said Jhone, gave an verball answer that the next thurisdai he suld answer in writ to the principall accusatione; bot becaus that in it thair was monie thingis impertinent, and some so manifest and detestable lewis that with saife conscience in his nixt sermonde he culd not pas by thame with silence, he prayed the brethren that presentit the said complent vnto him, humblie to desyre the sessione not to be offendit with him although he defend his awin innocencie (seeing he was ane preicheour) which being granted (as iustlie it culd not be denyed), the nixt Sonday in his publict sermonde he said :

I am compellit, and that be impudent and manifest lyaris to crave of you (loving auditouris) as ye will answer to God, to beare trew and faythful witnessing.

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I am grivouslie accused, as a bill delyverit to the session of my kirk dois proposit, and therefore to you as to my competent iudges have I my refuge, desyring you yit once agane, as ye will answer before the iustice seat of God, to spair nothing of the veritie. Is there ony of you that hard me in this publict place call the larde of Grange, now captane of the castell of Edinburgh, a crewell murtherer, ane opin throat-cutter, and one whose nature I had long known to be bloud-thristie? or was not the conclusion of my iust reprehensione and complent direct to the plane contrare end. I accused indeid that iniust and crewel murther, I affirmed that the violating of the hous of iustice to be treassone, and finallie I complened that the lyk enormitie and pernicious exemple I never sawe in Scotland. Not but I had sene murther and rebellion befor; yea I have sene magistrates ganestude and the supreame magistrates of the crown I have sene besedgit in thair awin tolbuith, and I have sene condemned persones violentlie reft fra the gallous and gibbet; but none of all theis forenamed can be compared to this last attemptat. For, gif the maisteris and authoris of this last ryote had been knowin befor to have been oppin throat-cutteris, bloud-thristie men, and sic as had bene void of the true feir of God, I wald have bene no mair movit at this tyme then I have bene at other tymes before; bot to see

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staris fall from heavin, to see men that have felt alsweill Godis iudgementis as mercies in a part, and to see men of whome all godlie hartis have had a gude opinione, to see, I say, sic men so far cariet away, that both God and man are not onlie forgot, but also publictlie dispysed, is both dolorous and fearful to be remembred; for I have knawin that man in his grittest extremitie, when that he myght have set him self at fredome be schedding of blood, at the counsall of sobore men he vtterlie refused all sic creweltie, and tuk a hasard to the flesch most fearfull, which God notwithstanding blissed, having respect to the simplicitie of his hart; and therfore then I said, and yit I say, that this exemple in him is the most terrible exemple that ever I saw in Scotland. I know that some have made vther report, bot in thair face I say that of thair father the devill they have learned to lie, whairin gif they continew without repentance they sall burne in hell.

This mekle being spoiken in oppen pulpet, he made this answer following in write to have bene gevin into the sessione the nixt Thurisday for his full answer vnto the foresade lybell or accusatione.

*The answer of Jhone Knox, minister of Christ Jesus, in preiching of his blessed evangle, to the complent and accusatione of Sir William Kircaldie of Grange Knyght,*

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To the long narrative preceeding the complent of the said William vnto your wisdoms, and his accusation of me, I answer nothing save onlie this ; that his awin confessionne convictis him to be a murtherer in hart, befoir that his servantis comitted murther ; indeid for his awin confessionne is, that he, movit be divers misbehaviouris of umquhile Henrie Seatoun, send certane of his servantis to Leyth to have dunge the said Henrie with a batton, which directione and charge I avowe was murther befoir God, afoir ony bloud was sched. For our maister Jesus Christ, and his apostle Jhone, pronouncit the hetreat of the hart to be murther befoir God, yea, Jhone affirms, that who so loveth not his brother is a man-sleyer ; the apostle Paul affirms that love worketh not evill, and so the charge to strik with a batton imported with it from the first conceptione therof murther, which is burst forth to the knowledge of the world in mea sortis than one. I vterlie deny that I have done or said ony thing in publict reprehensione of the said Sir William repugnant to the dewetie of a faythfull pastor. Yea I feare not to affirm that a true pastore nor a faythfull watchman I had not bene, gif I had kepit silence at so oppen a sclander and so proud contempt both of God and man. And this for sumar answir to his whole complent, referring the particulars to farther oportunitie. Whair he complenis that privie admonitiones past not

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befoir, I answir, that neather to him nor yit to ony that in sic sort offendis perteaneth privie admonitione. Bot against so proude and manifest attemptates belongeth public reprehensione, that vtheris may fair according to the comandement of the apostle Paull, 1 Timoth. 5. Whair he complenis that I called him oppin traytour, vnmerciefull murtherer, and a plane throat-cuttare, and that I did expres him be his name, giving the people to vnderstand, that I had certane knowledge, prufe, and experience of his nature and inclinatione to be bent to murther and blood-shed, &c. Becaus that this part of his complent and accusatione is manifestlie fals, and so far contrarious to my wordis, I omit all answir and purgatione of my self, that onlie excepted, which in publict audience I gave vpon Sunday last. But in my rigorous accusatione, as it pleasit the said Sir William to terme the publict discharge of my conscience, and dewitie to God to his kirkis and to him, then and yit allace, I feare, sleping in syn; that my publict denunciatione of his defectione I say is in ony wayis contrarious to the actis or ordinances of this, or of ony weill reformed kirk, or yit against the rule of Christane charitie, I vterlie deny. For in this kirk since the erecting of it, this order hes bene obseruit, that vpon the notorietie of sic enormities committed within our awin bodie; publict declaratione hes bene made to the whole people, as I suppose your

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wisdomes doe weill aneugh remember and vnderstand ; and therefore I superseid ony farther probatione in that head, and also farther apollogie or defense of my self, unless your wisdomes pleis give me new comandement ; and so for conclusion, I say, the said Sir William maist iniustlie accuses me who have done nothing in all that actione besydis the dewitie of a faythfull pastour. That I am flesch and bloud, and cled with manlie passionnes as he alledges, I never have denyed ; but that eather flesch and bloud impyred in me, in rebuking his manifest impietie, that I vterlie deny, praying God that ye may deal with him so faythfullie and so vprytlye, that ye comunicat not with his synis, bot that it may pleis God so potentlie to work with you, that he may be brought to the deip consideratione of his fearfull defectione, and so to vnfeaned repentance, be continuance whereof he may escape the vengeance pronounced, and that inevitable sall fall vpon all impenitent persones. And this for answir in generall, being reddie as habilitie of bodie will serve or suffer, and gif it sall pleis you to command me to answir everie heid in particular. Subscryvit, your to comand in God, Jhone Knox.

Upon the declaratione befoir said, opinlie made in pulpet (which was most true) the captane tuke new purpose, and whair it was loked for that the said captane suld in proper persone cumed, and fortified



his accusatione, he send a new bill to the sessione, the tenour whairof followes :

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Ryght Reverend ministeris, elderis, and deaconis of the Kirk of Edinburgh, vnto your wisdomes humblie meanis and schawis, I your servitour, and ane of your brethren, William Kircaldie of Grange Knyght, forsameikle as I gave this day aught dayes, ane complent vpon Jhone Knox minister, anent ane part of his preiching be him made the Sondag preceeding concerning me, the lyk as I was enformed by dyvers that hard the same, was tane reported and vnderstand be thame and many vtheris to my grit iniurie and sklender and defamacione, as at mair lenth is conteanet in my said complent ; nevertheless I vnderstand that the said Jhone Knox minister vpon Sondag last was, hes declared in his sermond his former sayingis and intent to have bene vtherwayis then they were vnderstood be mony as said is. As to the lament and amendment of my fault, and not to my hurt, injurie, or defamacione, I am content to give place to the treuth and credit his awin declaratione, and sua quyet my self in hope of the mercie of God, and not to vnquyet your wisdomes nor him be farther pursuite of the complent, only desyring him and you for satisfacione of sic as vnderstude and reported his sayingis vtherwayis then he declared, to give his saidis wordis and declaratione in write, vtherwayis referring the same to God, and

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end of the same mater which will declare all. And your wisdomes answir I beseik.

As Jhone Knox was passand to the sessione to answir the grievous complent according to his promeis, this former bill was presentit to him be tuo eldaris, quhilk beand red, he said, I will goe to the sessione and give my awin answir ; and so creping vpon his club, came in befoir them, and standing, said, “ This day was assigned vnto me to answir the complent of Sir William Kirkadie of Grange knyght ; but becaus, as this lettre proportis, he is not willing to pursew the same, whatsaever pleases you pleases me : for God knowis I have never bene enemie to that man, and therfore his pursuit ceasing, my defence salt sleip. Bot tuo things I man protest and requyre of your wisdomes, the former, that this my easenes to be intreated, neather preiudge my self, neather yit ony of my brethren, fellow-preacheouris, for what it is to accuse a minister for the functione of his office, I suppose ye vnderstand. Farther in this head I delay. The second is, that I desyre that ye suffer not the gentle man sleip longare in his syn. He is snared by Sathane. It is your dewitie to have compassion vpon him, and therfore, superintendent, I pray you (for the mater cheiflie tuiches you) be faythfull, and stand in your office. Admonis him of his offense comitted against God, against the partie,

against the kirk, and cheiflie against the magistrate.”  
 Heirvpon was the superintendent of Lowthian direct  
 to the castell, but answir is not yit (to wit the last of  
 Februar) reported to the sessione. Bot the brute  
 came to the earis of sum, that the captane had satis-  
 feit the superintendent in all things, and wald satisfie  
 the kirk as they wold comand. But in the mean  
 tyme, the brute went that Jhone Knox had recanted,  
 and had asked the captane mercie.

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The nixt Sondag after, the said Jhone Knox in his  
 sermond, declared the nature of true repentance : and  
 in the end, concludit, that unfeaned repentance broght  
 with it humiliatione without excuse, and true humili-  
 atione procured of God delay of plauges how scharp-  
 lie that ever they were promised, at least for a tyme ;  
 and that head he set furth be the historie of Helias,  
 who in his face rebucked Achab of Naboths slaugh-  
 ter, who was not participant therof, bot be approba-  
 tion when the fact was done.

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This sermond did exasperate the captane agane,  
 and pat him in a new raig. The fourt Sondag, it  
 chanced the ladie Murray to be in Edinburgh, for  
 whose caus, to wit, to salute hir, the captane came to the  
 sermond ; (as he had not bene before almost ane whole  
 yeir) he brought at his bak the principall murtheraris,  
 and sic as had before brocken up the tolbuith. Jhone  
 Knox was quick in that sermond against all sic as for-

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get Godis benefits receaved, and entreating of Godis grit mercies bestowed vpon penitent synneris, according to his comone maner, he forwarned proud contemptneris, that Godis mercie apperteaned not to such as with knowledge prouddie transgressed, and after more prouddie menteaned the same. All that scharpnes the said lard of Grange tuik, as spokken against his persone onlie, and spak his pleasour to more than one or tuo.

Vpon this new displesour, the brute therof ran to all parties, sua thair was no tydingis, but this was one, that the larde of Grange hes sworne him enemie to Jhone Knox and will slea him; whairvpon, the brethren of the wast wrot this letter to the captane as follows.

He that continewis to the end sal be savit. Sir, after heartlie comendatione in the lord, forasmekle as into this our assemblie at Ayre, the second of Januare we have hard be report of some, that not onlie ye have conceaved ane offence against our brother Jhone Knox, but also that ye are purposed to iniurie him be sum way of deid (a thing hard to be believed of vs) for albeit in matters of civile regiment ye doe not fullie agrie with vs, yit in the actiones of religione, God hes heirtofore sa far used your labouris to the furtherance therof, that ye have not bene a simple professor onlie, but also a chief defender therof, with

the hasard of your lyfe, landis, and guddis ; and therefore hard it is to persuade vs that ye suld be movit to doe ony harme to him in whose protectione and life (to our indgment) standis the prosperitie and incres of Godis kirk and religione, and so be the iniureing of him, to cast down that work which with so greit labouris and manifold dangeris ye have helpit to build : yit, nottheles, the great cair we have of the personage of that man whome our God hes made, both the first planter, and also the cheif vaterer of his kirk amonges vs, moves vs to write these few lynis vnto you, protesting, that the death and lyfe of that our said brother is to us so precious and deir, as is our awin lyves and deathis. Defering to have a plane declaratione of your mynd in this matter, with this berare whome we have directed vnto you with farther credite. And this not trubling you with farther wryting, we comitt you to the regiment of the spreit of God. From Ayre the 3 of Januare 1570. Thus subscrivit.

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Glencairn

Vchiltrie

Cunighamheid

William Cunighame of Craprintoun

Barganye

Jhone Lockart of Bar

Hew Wallace of Carnall

Jhone Foulertoun of Dreghorne

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Jhone Cathcart of Carriltoun  
Gilbert Kennedie of Dalquhirran  
Jhone Neilsoun of Craigcaffie  
Hew Kennedie of Benname  
Thomas Kennedie of Lambie

In this mean tyme, Paisley was taken from the Lord Semples servantis be the Hamiltones, and be thame kept till that the Regent with his forces tuike it, and delyvred the place in the keping of the lord Cathcart\*. Great moyen was made to raise the seidge, and so to frustrat the poore regent of that interpryse, but God assisted him then, so that he gat the place of Paisley randerit without promeis or compositione vther then the regentis will vndeclared.

The erle of Mortoun, and Mr James M'Gill, Clerk Register, were send to England commissionaris for the Kingis majesties partie. The Quene of England schew fair countenance to eather partie, as by hir answir gewin to the comendatour of Dumfermeling (who was send before) as hir awin letter schort befoir send to the Regent may appeare.

*The answir gewin to the Comendatour of Dumfermeling.* The Quenis majestie hath pervsed the instruc-

\* It must be understood, that after the dissolution of the Religious houses, many of their revenues were given to laymen. Lord Claud Hamilton had held the abbacy of Paisley, but he was deprived of it, and Lord Semple obtained it from Regent Murray.

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tiones which he brought from the Regent, and findis in thame dyvers thingis worthie of consideratione; which without farther debating of them can not be weyed as they import: and therefore, hir majestie wished that some such persones of that estate as have credite and acquaintance with those causes, myght forthwith repair hither for that purpose, with whome hir majestie will have further and more particular conference vpon those articles as sal be fit. And for the principall point, tuiching the restitutione of thair Quene; considering that by thare sundrie answeris alsweill heirtofore made as now at this tyme, it seemeth that by allegationes the pretent caus in iustice to stay the same, hir majestie wold that the regent and vtheris of the kingis part suld vnderstand, that scho never intendit, nor will grow in resolutione therin, that sal appear vnto hir to be against iniustice or otherwayis vntill there cause may [be] honorable provydit for to all purposes. And therefore whatsoever they can mak apparent to hir majestie for thair continewance and conservatione to be agrieable with iustice, hir majestie will be reddie to vnderstand the same, and ther-vpon further doe as sall be to thair satisfactione for the continewance of the part they hold: and if percase on the vther syde they sal not be able to fortifie thair cause, with sic evident reasones as hir majestie may with conscience satisfie hir self, and with honour answir to the world; then nevertheles, hir majestie for the na-

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turall love scho beareth to the kyng, hir neir kynsman, and gud will scho had to the nobilitie on his part and there associatis, will leave no meanis to provide for all thare sureties. In both which cases, it is easelie sene how necessare the presence of some fit personages to be sent from them is, with whome hir majestie will treat to these endis, gif they sal think gude to send thame. And therefore requyred the Abbot, eather by him'self or by his advertisment, to give knowledge of this hir majesties answer to those noble men with speid, that they may spedely despatche the comissionaris, sufficientlie authorised to confere with hir majestie in eather case. So as by no delay of tyme, the gud intent hir majestie hath for thame be hindered. And considering the gud opinione hir majestie hath conceived of the discretione and sinceritie of the said Abbot, scho wished him to be present with such as come for that purpose.

*The Quenis letter.* Ryght trustie and ryght weil-beloved cosing, we greit you weill, giving you to vnderstand that we have receaved by the comendator of Dunfermeling, your lettres, with such other wrytingis, as ye hath willed him to declare vnto vs, and lykwayis, as he is verie weill able for his wisdom, and sufficient for to doe, He had declared vnto vs such thingis as on your behalf he hath to declare vnto us, whareby we doe verie weill perceave the gude will which you and



the rest that are with you in that realme beare towardis  
vs : and the reguard you seame to have of vs. And  
for answer of these thingis which you have said to vs,  
and vnto that which the commendator hath declared  
vnto vs further : becaus they consist of mony and  
sundrie pointis, and be of grit weycht, and impor-  
tance, and requyre a further tyme to be deliberat vpon,  
we have for this present resolved no further therein,  
then the said comendator shall inform you. Referring  
for further answer and resolutione to the comeing  
hither of your comissionaris, who were loked for to  
have bene heir afore this tyme : and so much the ra-  
ther, we have done so, becaus the said comendator  
doeth iudge that before he sal be able to retorne vnto  
you, they wil be neir vpon there arryvell heir. But  
of one thing we most at this tyme remember you, and  
requyre you so to consider thereof, as there follow no  
such inconvenience be the same, as otherwayis it most  
neids doe, which is this, Our requeist was that the ab-  
stinence of hostilitie betuixt both parties suld be agreed  
vpon, eather for sex weikis, or tuo monethis, for your  
partie have agreed but for sex weikis, and the Quene  
of Scottis partie have agreed for tuo monethis. Whair-  
fore, to avoid this inconvenience, and that the said  
Quene and hir partie have no caus to complane heirof,  
nor blame us heirin, we requyre and pray you to  
agrie also to keip the said abstinence also for the full

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January tuo monethis, so as neather partie varie therein. And considering that this space of tyme being alreddie weill spent, and will not suffer for the tyme of the treatie of the said commissionaris, we think it meit that there be a further abstinence agreed vpon of both parteis, and the same to extend to March nixt, whairvnto we pray you to agrie, and with speid to advertis vs of your resolutione therein, for the saidis quenis part did agrie at the first tyme vpon ane abstinence, not onlie for tuo monethis, but for as long tyme as we suld think meit : which agrement the said Abbot had sene heir vnder thare handis and seales. And, in case, therfore, ye doe agrie to this our secund request, we will, vpon advertisement thereof to vs (which we requyre you may be done with all convenient speid) procure the lyk renewing from the saidis quenis part, vnder thare handis and seales. Gewin vnder our Signet, at our Honor of Hamptoun Court, the 7 day of December, 1570, and 13 yeir of our reigne. Your loving freind Elizabeth R.

These lettres notwithstanding, the Captane of the Castle was nurised in grit 'espearance, or else vaine boasting, blew foorth of the rock, for the winde blew vp and downe Edinburgh, that the Quene of England had offerit to him, and for his caus, to the secretare, restitutione of all that eather they, or thair freindis had susteaned. This message came be a gentleman,

called Harringtoun, who also careit lettres to the Re-  
 gent, whome he fand at Glasgow. Efter him come  
 from Berwick, ane vther messinger, called Hope, from  
 the Merchall of Berwick. What was conteaned in his  
 lettres, or what he had in credite, is not publicklie  
 knawin. Bot were the tydingis pleasing or vnpleasing,  
 the Captane made a schaw of a stout bragg, for his  
 gaird housses were furnished, his new men of warre  
 vnder the credite of Melvin, captane, who before had  
 bene a captane of a cumpany in the first Regentis tyme,  
 and his coseinge Waewan the tailzour come down the  
 gait of Edinburgh, vpon monunday, the penult of Fe-  
 bruar, 1571. They come downe, we say, from the  
 gaird housses, with sic haist, as men wondered what  
 suld be thair enterpryse : the end whairof was to in-  
 itiat the hand of Wattie Waewan, old deacone of the  
 tailzoris, with a new ensingye, which, with a grit so-  
 lemnitie, was careit through a publict mercat, and so  
 to the castle, and back agane about St Cuthbert kirk,  
 where the eath of the suddartis were tacken, whairof  
 for the present we will not speik, but referre trueth  
 to God, and to the declaratione of time \*.

At this time come foorth a ballat, as it had bene,

\* It is difficult to understand the latter part of this paragraph, so much disfigured by malignant vulgarity. It would appear, that the officer only marched his men through the city, and then took their oaths of fealty, perhaps, on getting new colours.

1571 from the Captane of the castell, compleaning, as he  
 February lay vpon the craig of Edinburgh, and becaus we never  
 vnderstood the vaine of his poesie before, ye sall reid,  
 gif ye pleis, that ye may iudge out of what arrow-bag  
 sic arowes are schott.

At the castell of Edinburgh,  
 Vpon the bank baith grene and rough,  
                     As myne alone I lay,  
 With paper, pen and inke, in hand,  
 Musing, as I culd vnderstand,  
                     Of the suddan decay

That vnto this pure natione  
     Appeirandlie dois come :  
 I fand our congregatiōne  
     Was caus of all and some,  
 Whois aucthoris instructoris  
 Hes blindit thame so long,  
 That blameles and schameles,  
 Both riche and poure they wrong:

Thea wickit vaine Venerianis,  
 Pfoud poysonet Pharisianes,  
                     With thare blind guydis but grace,  
 Hes causet the pure countre  
 Assist vnto thair traitorie,  
                     Thare prince for to displace :  
 For teine I can not testifie  
     How wronguslie they wroght,  
 When they there prince so piteouslie  
     In prisone strong had brought ;  
 Abuset hir, accuset hir,  
 With serpent wordis fell,  
 Of schavelis and rebellis,  
 Lyk hiddeous houndis of hell.

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February

Thea dispard birdis of Beliall  
Thought nocht but to advance thame sell;  
    Fra they had hir down thrawin,  
With errour and hypocrisie,  
To commit open traitorie,  
    As cleirly now is knawin :  
But the grit God omnipotent,  
    That secreitis thoghtis dois search,  
Relevit hes that innocent  
    Out of thare rage so fearee ;  
Provydit and guydet  
Hir to ane vncouth land,  
Whare wander and sclander  
With enemeis non scho fand.

Sen tyme of which directione,  
This countrie is come in subiectioun,  
    And dailie servitude.  
With men of war in garisone,  
To the comones oppressioun,  
    By slycht and suddrene blood ;  
Whose craft, ingyne, and policie,  
    Full reddie bent is ewer,  
Be treasoun vnder amitie,  
    Our nobles to disseaver :  
Some rubbing, some budding,  
Thare studie they employ,  
That slychtly, vnryghtly,  
They may this realme enioye.

This guyding gart grit greif aryis  
In me, wha na wayis could devyis  
    To mend this grit mischance ;  
And als I argouet all the case,  
I hard ane say, within this place,  
    With help of God and France,

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I sall, within ane little space,  
Thy dolouris all to dres ;  
With help of Christ thou sall, or peace  
Thy kyndlie prince posses :  
Detrusaris, refusaris,  
Of hir authoritie ;  
Nane cairand or spairand,  
Shall outhir die or fle.

Thought God, of his iust judgment,  
Thole thame to be ane punishment  
To hir, there supreme heid ;  
Yet sen they were participant  
With hir, and scho now penitent,  
Rycht surelie they may dreid ;  
As wicket scourges hes bene seen  
Get for the scurgene hyre,  
When synneris repentis from the splene,  
The scourge cast in the fyre :  
Sua Mortone, be fortune,  
May get this same reward ;  
His boasting, nor posting,  
I doe it not regard.

Bayth him and all thair cumpany,  
Thought England wald them fortifie,  
I cair thame nocht a leik ;  
For all thare grit munitione,  
I am in suire tuitione,  
This hault it sall me keip.  
My realme and princees libertie  
Thairin I sall defend,  
When traitoris salbe hangit hie,  
Or mak some shamefull end.

1571  
February

Assure thame, I cure them,  
Ewin as they do deserve ;  
Thare treasone, this seassone,  
It sall not mak me suirve :

For I have men and meat aneugh ;  
They know I am ane tailzeour touche,  
                    And wilbe ryght sone grievet ;  
When they have tint als mony teith  
As they did at the seige of Leith,  
                    They wilbe fain to leave it.  
Than wha, I pray you, salbe boun  
            Thare tinsall to advance,  
Or give sic compositione  
            As they gat then of France ?  
This sylit, begylit,  
They will bot get the glaikis ;  
Cum they heir, thir tuo yeir,  
They sall not misse their paikis.

As for my nyghbouris Edinburgh toun,  
What sal be there part, vp or downe,  
                    I can not yit declare ;  
Bot ane thing I mak manifest,  
Gif they me ony thing molest,  
                    Thair buithis salbe maid bare.  
Gif fyre may thare buildingis sacke,  
            Or bullat beat them down,  
They sall nocht faill that end to mack  
            The staires made in this toun.  
Sua vse thame, and chuse thame,  
What part they will ensew ;  
Foirsake me, or tacke me,  
They sall drink as they brew.

●

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February

He bade me ryse, and muse no mair,  
But pray to God both lait and aire,  
To save this noble ludge,  
Which is, in all prosperitie,  
And lykwayis in aduersitie,  
Our princes plane refuge.  
Therefore, all trew men I exhort,  
That ye with me accord,  
That we all, bayth in earnest and sport,  
Ask at the leving Lord,  
That hanget, or manget.  
Mot ilk man mak his end,  
Wha dewilie and truelie  
Wald not this hous defend.

March Schort efter the knowledge of this rowstie ryme, the General assemblie of the kirk was to convene in Edinburgh, to wit, vpon the 1 day March, 1571. Before this assemblie, thare was no small boast, that the Captane of the Castell wald accuse Jhone Knox of the reproving of his murther, and of his vther enormities done, which the said Jhone hard of dyvers, patientlie did abyde the tyme appointed, not omitting his dewitie vpon the sonday, as the text offered occasione. Bot, when the assemblie was full, and a day was past, nothing was hard, whairat mony marvelit.

That tuysday nyght, the second day of the assemblie, there was a brawade, or els a foolis vanitie devysed in the castell. The one part of the Captanes suldeoris tuike vpon them to scarmis in maner of ane assault to the castle. The scarmis begouth about 8



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horis at nyght, and so continewed till efter 9. Question was demandit from the hous, “ what they were that troubled the Captane vnder silence of nyght ? ” It was answerit, (as the fears was devysed) “ the quene of Englandis armie. ” Thare began flyting, and sic flyting as comonlie we have not hard, for besydes thir wordis, away lubbard, away blewcoit, I defye the whytecott, dyrt vpon your teith ; hence knawis, and goe tell that whoore your maistres, scho sall not cume heir : we lat you to wit, that we have men meit and ordinance for 7 yeiris. And so about the end of the scarmusching, the castell began to discharge canones, first ane, then ane vther, and last the thrid. And so schortlie, the counterfuted assaltaris took the flicht, and quyetness was in the toun for that nyght. At dyvers tables were dyvers communicationes, and amongis vtheris, Jhone Knox sitting with tuo brethrene said, I culd expone, gif I myght speak, the mysterie of yone thrie canones ; but becaus the nyght is farre spent, and I may not weill speik, I conclude with this sentence of Solomon : *ante ruinam præit fastus* : before destructione goeth pryde ; I saw as grit bravarie in the castell of St Androis, and yet few dayes brought a miserable desolatione.

The 3 day of the assemble thare was a lybell, without name, in a counterfeit hand cassin in, and frae

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the hous of the Lordis \*, fell into the assemblie hous. The tenor of it, as sal be after declared, was to accuse Jhone Knox. The letter being presented to the said Jhone, he willed the same to be made manifest to the moderatour and brethren of the assemblie, desyring thame onlie to give him place to answer for himself. Vtheris thought it not expedient suddanlie, but rather to suffer tyme to wirk, that the compleners myght open farther of there myndis, and so that day it past by with silence. That same nyght following, this same bill, with some additione, was fixed vpon the assemblie doore, the tenor whairof followes †.

Vnto you, ryght honorable superintendentis, ministeris, and kirk of God, presentlie assembled within this burgh for reformatione, humblie meanis and compleanis your fellow-members of Jesus Christ, professing ane self religione with you, vpon Jhone Knox, minister of this burgh [*They were not Gentiles that accused poor Jeremy*]. That whare, vpon sonday last by past, and dyvers vtheris tymes of before, the said

• Court of Session.

† Undoubtedly, the work would suffer nothing by the omission of this and other parts of a similar description. The only objection to it, which we must admit, indeed, is hardly sufficient, is that these passages have some relation to the general context of the whole, and the connection of the author's narrative would be interrupted without them.

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Johne, contrare to his professione, opinlie, in this kirk of Edinburgh, maist seditiously [*falslie lybellit*] detracted, rayled, and inveyed against our soverane ladie [*No soverane ladie is scho to me, nor yet to this realme, and so ye are traitoris*], the nobilitie, and vther subiectis of this realme, professing her Grace's obedience, naming her an idolatres, and murtherer, and ane adulteres : [*I grant the accusatione, bot realing I deny*], And her subiectis, meanteaneris of Adulterie and Idolatrie, with mony utheris iniurious, and sklanderous wordis, as is notourlie knawin to this whole burgh, Attore, whairas of dewitie [*I deny dewitie in that part*], not onlie he suld have prayed for hir, but exhorted the whole kirk to pray for hir weilfair, repentance, and conversione to God, not only doeth he omit the same, but contrariewayis vses all maner imprecationes and exècrationes against hir [*What I have used, man has not stopped, nor sall stop*], and vtherwayis speakis of hir as scho were a reprobat, saying scho repentis not, nor can not repent [*Thou art ane impudent liare, I said, and say, that pryde and repentaunce abyde not in a hart*], because scho desyres, most ressonable, to be restored to hir awin realme and authoritie, iustlie apperteaning to hir, both be Godis ryght and manis; and whairfra scho was vnnaturallie delected, and is wrangouslie debarred. Thus, entering in Godis secreat counsall, as though he were privie

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therof, and called therto. In which doing, he workis so far as lyis in him, be sic presumptuous and mallepert arrogance [*I know you for no iudge, and therefore I appeale to Godis mercie, and to the ryght iudgement of the kirk*], to mak the religione of Jesus Christ to be ewill spoken of, and the whole ministrie to be hated and abhorred. And be intermedling of civile and prophane matteris with the word of God, devydis the Church in contrarious factiones, wharevpon may ensew grit hurt and perrell, not onlie to the kirk, but also to the comone wealth. Heirfoir, we beseech your worships, as you that are appointed to watche above his church, to put order to the said Jhone in the executione of his office, and that he desist fra sic intolerable and enorme realing vpon our soveran ladie, and intromedling sic prophane causes with the word of God, farre above his missione [*Realing, I deny your soverane ladie, I know not, my commissione man can not limitate*]. Vtherwayis, ye wilbe thought, in tymes coming, partackeris of his schisme, and charged therewith, as oportunitie will serve. Vnles ye put remeid heirto, the ingivearis heirop will seik the samyn with gritter vnquyetnes [*Godis gude will be done ; and to that iust iudge I appeale \**].

This secund letter cuming to the knowledge of dy-

\* The passages in parentheses are the heads of Knox's answer.

vers, the assemble decreed to advertis the lordis of Sessione, wha were in the hous vpright above them; and for that purpose did direct vnto thame some brethren, and some ministeris, with both the billis, to inquire gif they knew any thing of the ingiving of the same; which being denyed vtterlie be thame, the procuratoris were called, and they lykwayis denyed both knowledge and counsall of and to ony sic accusatione; then the assemble comandit a publict proclamatione to be made, as followes :

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Becaus some wrytingis are cassin in be some persones, sclanderouslie against Jhone Knox, and the ingivaris therof are misknowin, therefore the assemble desyris ony persone, or persones, that will pursew and stand to the samyn, to compeir, and pursew the same, and iustice salbe done accordinglie.

This proclamatione, notwithstanding, no man was found to accuse; but this thrid bill was affixt vpon the kirk doore, the tenor whairof followes :

To the ryght honorable superintendentis, ministeris, and kirk of God, presentlie assembled for reformatione. Forsamekle as vpon the supplicationes gewin to you of before, ye caused oppinlie proclame at the counsall house doore, gif ony man wald compeir to pursew the same, saying, that Knox was reddie to answer therto, gif the supplicatione be reasonable, and foundit vpon ane gude cause of complent, worthie to

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be regarded, as they are most reasonable, then are they sufficient, but farther pursuite, to admonis you, men of iudgment, of your dewitie, and move you to provyde that no sclander be gevin be the minister, that occupis the chief chaire of this realme. The ingivearis of the supplicatione luikis, that the same be alleweill ane admonitione to the criminal, as vnto your wisdomes ; yet, gif he, vpon his corrupt sense and perverse affectione, persist in his arrogant malice, he sall not want ane or mae accusatoris at the nixt assemblee provyding he be then law byding, and not fugitive, according to his accustomed maner.

10 This bill being affixt vpon the kirk door, as said is, and vpon sindrie vther places, was broght to Mr Knox the 10 day of Marche, 1571, as he was putting on his claythis ; and efter that he had red it, be the bell man delyverit it to his servant Richard, comanding him to tak it to the assemblee, which dissolved that same day. The bill being presentit, and also red, the said Richard sayis, I beseik your wisdomes to heir me, and to tak in gude part the thing that I sall speik, for God I tak to recorde, that it proceidis of no malice against ony persone. And so leive beand grantit, he proceedis thus. It hes pleasit God to mak me a servant to that man Jhone Knox, whom I serve, as God beiris me witnes, not so mekle in respect of my worldlie comodie, as for that integrity and vprytness which I have

ever knowin, and presentlie vnderstandis to be in him, especiallie in the faythfull administratione of his office, in teaching of the word of God ; and gif I vnderstude, or knew that he ware a fals teacher, a seducer, a raser of schisme, or ane that makis divisione in the kirk of God, as he is reported to be by the former accusations, I wald not serve him for all the substance in Edinburgh. Therefore, I desyre your wisdomes to mak it manifest and knowin, be some publict edict, that ye approue his doctrine, consent and agrie with him, that ye are of one mynd and iudgement with him, and that ye sing all ane songe. That therby, the rest of ministeris bearing part of the burthing with him, which, in my iudgment, now lyis onlie on his back, the enemeis have no occasione to say, it is onlie Jhone Knox that speikis against the quene.

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They all said that they wold beare there part of the burdene with him, for the which the said Richard earnestlie protested and desyred ane act thervpon, but it was refused : ane askit and demandit of the said Richart, gif his maister bad him requyre ony sic thing ; bot be confessed as treuth was, that the thing he spake was of his awin heid, without ony knowledge of his maister, but onlie (said he) that he was moved be the sclanderous accusations ; and therefore (he said) culd do no les of his conscience then to desyre there wisdomes to remeid the foirsaid fals reportes, so far as in

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thame lay, which culd be by no meanes better in his iudgment, then be there publict declaratione be edict or vtherwayis as they thought best, to mak it knowin to all, that they approved the thingis that Jhone Knox spak, and that they were of the same mynd and iudgment with him, touching those thingis whair of he was accused, lest be their silence in this behalf, they suld confirme the opin speakingis of the enemies, who alledge, and say, that they have as mony ministeris on there syde as the king hes upon his syde.

The said Richard being not a little in choler, that this his iust desyre was refused, and that the clerk of the sessione refused to give him ane act vpon the sam, whois dewitie, as he thought, was not to have bene so earnest in refusing his requeist, he requyred Mr George M'Kesone witnes to the premisses, and wald have gewin him ane plack to make ane act vnder his handwrit of the former wordis. The said Mr George promised to beare witnes, as his handwrit heirof testifies, but refused the plack, and said it neadit not.

Thir are the names of thame that were present in the assemblie, when the said Richard made his protestatione.

Mr George Hay, moderatour

The Lard of Dun, superintendent of Anguse



Maister Robert Pont, comissioner for the Kirkis 1571  
of Murray March

Mr Andrew Hay, comissioner of Glasgow

Mr David Weymis, minister of Glasgow

Williame Christesone, minister at Dundie

Mr David Lyndsay, minister at Leith

Mr Jhone Craig, minister at Edinburgh

Mr Gilbert Gardin, minister at Monthe

Mr Jhone Hepburne, chanteour of Murray

David Fergusone, minister of Dumfermling

David Adamsone, chanteour of Ross

Mr Jhone Prestone, and Adam Fulertoun, chan-  
teours for the Kirk of Edinburgh

James Darumpell, minister at Ayre

Jhone Mc'Cron, minister at Senton in Lanark

Mr Robert Lockard

The Lard of Hattoun

Thomas Symmervuell, burges of Edinburgh

Mr George M'Kesone, solister for the kirk

And Jhone Gray, scribe, who tuik the speach  
upon him, and first refused

*George M'Kessone, witness of the premises, with my  
hand.*

The General Assemblie being dissolved, some of  
the brethren travelled with Jhone Knox, and that of  
gude mynd, that he suld pass over all sic accusationes  
with silence, to whome he answerit : The kirk may

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forbid me preching, but to stop my tounge being in the pulpit it may not; and therefore, eather lat me be discharged, or els lat you and the aduersaries both look for an answir. And sua Sonday beand the nixt day, the sermond endit, he answerit all the billis, and first he answerit the complent and title that the accusatouris cleamed to thame selvis, calling them follow memberis of Jesus Christ, etc. and said. Albeit, it is most dolorous to my hart, to mak ane apollogie against such as call them selves fellow-memberis of Jesus Christ, and men professing the same religione with vs: yit becaus it is no new thing that Godis servantis have bene accused of sic as have bene esteem-ed the cheif pillaris of the kirk, it becometh me to tak my lot in gud part; for Jeremie was not accused of the Gentiles, bot his accusatouris were Jewes borne, and circumcised according to the law: and all externall professing and avowing the testament made with Abraham. Paull was in mony dangeris, and amonges the rest, he accomptis his perellis amonges fals brethren. Ye heir how grievously I am accused. I will not say that Tertullus accuses Paull; bot we know that once he accused him, as in the Actis of the Apostles, the 24 cap. 1 verse, we may read.

Gif this accusatione be weill weyeth, I doubt not but ye sall persave the same to be the dytement and fals style of a flattering oratour travelling to cloak

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impietie, and to deface the iust reprehensione of Godis spreit. That I have called hir ane obstinat idolatrice, ane that consented to the murther of hir awin husband, and ane that hes comitted whordome, and villanous adulterie, I glaidlie grant and never myndis to deny; bot realing and seditione they are never able to prove in me, till that they first compell Esai, Jeremie, and Ezechiel, S' Paul, and vtheris to recant, of whom I have learned planelie and bauldlie, to call wicketness be the awin termes, a feg, a feg, and a spead, a spead. I fear that threatening pronounced be Esai, in these wordis, wo to them that call lyght darkness, and darkness lyght, good ewill, and ewill good. If scho be innocent of ony of the crymes laid to hir charge be me, then may I be accused as a railer; but gif there awin conscience bearis witnes to thame, that scho is guiltie in all the forenamed, and in everie one of them, and in mony moe, lat them studie how they sal be absolved before God, who threatenis to cas Jesabell in a bed, and them that comitt fornicatione with hir in great afflictione, except they repent. How mony flattered hir when sche raged in hir iniquitie, vnder the cloak of authoritie, some within this realme, and within the same citie vnderstandis. But how that God the iust iudge hath overthrawin hir pryde, and disapointed there fals flattering promises, the whole world can witness, and yit

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they will not cease ; but still they will manteane hir as sche were ane innocent and vniustlie handled of hir subiectis. Let hir and hir menteaneris compleane upon God, who made hir chief flatteraris hir cheifest enemies. What scho sal be to thame or they to hir, lat them declare, I speik of thingis certane and bypast. Now to the rest of my accusatione. I pray not for hir. I answir, I am not bound to pray for hir in this place, for soveran to me scho is not, and I lat them vnderstand that I am not a man of law, that hes my tounge to sell for silver or favoure of the world. Bot to resone with them of prayer, who never vnderstood what trew prayer was were bot laboure lost. I prayed till I was forbidden ; but this maner of speiking the world vnderstandis not. They terme hir thair soverane, and them selvis the nobilitie and subiectis professing hir obedience. In this they confess them selvis traitouris, and so am not I bound to answir thame, nor yit there accusatione, till that they give answir to my peremptour. As to the imprecationes made against hir, whairof I am accused, I have willinglie confessed that I have desyred, and in my hart desyris, that God of his mercie, for the comfort of his pure flock within this realme, will oppose his power to hir pryde, and confound hir and hir flattereris, and assisteris in hir impietie ; I praise my God, he of his mercie hes not disapointed me of my just prayer, lat them call it im-

precatione or execratione as pleases thame. It hes  
ofter then anes stricken, and sall stryke in despite of  
man : menteane and defend hir who list. I am fur-  
ther accused that I spake of thair soverane, myne scho  
is not, as that scho were a reprobat, affirming that  
scho can not repent, &c. whereto I answir, that the  
accuser is a calumniatour and a manifest liare, for he  
is never able to prove that at ony tyme I have said,  
that sche culd not repent. But I have said, and yit  
say, that pryde and repentance abydis not in ane hart  
of ony long continewance together. What title scho  
hes or ever had to this realme, and to the authoritie  
therof, I list not to enter in contentione ; how scho  
was dijected fra it, lat the esteatis answir for ; me they  
can not accuse vnless they lie, for hitherto I have liv-  
ed as a subiect, and obeyed as a subiect, to all lauch-  
full ordinance of God within this realme ; yet restis  
one thing is most bitter to me, and most fearfull, gif  
my accusatouris were able to prove thair accusatione,  
to wit, that I proudlie and arrogantlie enter in Godis  
secreat counsall, as that I were called therto. God  
be merciefull to my accusatouris, of thair rasche and  
vngodlie iudgement. Gif they vnderstude how fear-  
full my conscience is, and ever hes bene to exceade  
the boundis of my vocatione, they wold not so boldlie  
have accused me. I am not ignorant, that the se-  
creatis of God appertene to him self alone : but thingis

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revealed in his law appertenis to vs and to our children for ever. What I have spokken against the adulterie, against the murther, against the pryde, and against the idolatrie of that wicked woeman, I spak not as one that entered in Godis secreat counsall, but being one (of Godis grit mercie) called to preach according to his blissed will, revealed in his most holie word, have after then once pronounced the threatningis of his law, against sic as have bene of counsall, of knowledge, of assistance or consent of that innocent blood suld be sched; and this same thing I have pronounced against all and sundrie, that goe about to menteane that wicked woman, and the band of those murtheraris, that they suffer not the death according to his word, that the plague may be taken from this realme, which sall never be sa long as scho and they remane vnpunished, according to the sentance of Godis law. Where I am accused of expounding ewill and prophane thingis with the word of God, I divide the kirk in contrarious factione, I mak the religione of Jesus Christ to be evile spokken of, and the whole ministrie to be hated and abhorred, &c. I answir that when they sall teach me be Godis plane written word, that the reprove of vice is a evile and prophane thing, and that it is a thing that apperteaneth not to the ministrie, I sall doe as Godis word comandis me. But vnto that tyme, which will not

be till the morne after dovmesday, and not then I may hold that sentence and power pronounced and gewin be God to his prophetis, be Jeremie and Ezekiell, to stand for a perpetuall law and rewle to all trew ministeris, which with Godis assistance, I purpose to follow to my lives end. 1571  
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Whare they threaten to put order to me with grither vnquyitnes, vnles I cease from realing of there soverane, I answir as before, realing I deny, thare soverane I know not, lat Godis will be done in me. I have laid my compt, mony thingis I knowe I have omittit, but in that I find no great fault with my memorie. Lat thame repleye gif eather they can or dar, and I sall answir as it pleases God to assist me: and this answir to both thare first accusationes. In schort wordis I answir the third. In the which my accusatouris alledge, that there complent is sufficient that the assemblie accuse me, for their awin discharge, &c. whareto I answir, that my accusatouris wold have the assemblie of Christiane ministeris more brutis and more barbarous then an Etnick Judge was in a more notorious accusatione. For the princes of the preistis cuming to Festus, the deputie desyred sentence against Paull: to whom he answerit, that it was not the consuetude of the Romanis to decerne against ony man before that he was accused, had his accusatouris present befoir him, and that he him self

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had place to purge him of thingis obiected against him. Now gif my accusatouris wald that a christiane assemble suld dempne me at there requeist, and vpon their accusatione, they mak it inferiour to this Ethnick Judge as said is. Bot they have promised to accuse me face to face at the nixt General Assemblie, gif I be found law-byding ; whairto I answir, that I praise God, that they have nothing presentlie to accuse, when the tyme is als favorable vnto thame, as ever they will find it, gif Christ Jesus have place within this realme. Bot becaus they know that there persute is iniust, they flie to the lost refuge of all walterares of comone wealthis, *tempora mutantur*. Whither I sall be law-byding or not, at that tyme I know not, for my dayes and wayes are in the handis of him vpon whome I depend, and who had guyded me through in mony trubles, and hes yit preserved me to this decreapit aige, which now is not apt to flie farre. Whairever I think that no man is able to convict me to have bene a fugitive from the flock, whereto I was bound, without thair awin comandement.

This apollogie pronounced be word : before the secund Sonday, they caused the fourth bill to be affixet, accusing Jhone Knox of seditione, of schisme, and erroneous doctrine. As the tenour of there accusatione does testifie, which begins with a grite nota, thus :



*Nota.* · Gif the buik intitulat the Blast of the Trumpet, set furth be Jhone Knox, against the Regiment of woemen be grundeth vpon a schisme and fals doctrine (as but dout it is) why then may he not be iudged trewlie ane seditious man and a fals doctour, that set furth the same so arrogantlie, and gif it be grundit vpon ane vnfallible treuth, why then doeth he allowe and approve the contraire, I mean that Regiment in the Quene of Englandis persone, which he avowes and approves not only in praying for the mentenance of hir estate, as he has done dyvers tymes opinlie in pulpet, but also in suteting and procureing be him self and vtheris of his alluring, be all meanis possible hir aide and support against his awin native cuntrie and libertie therof. It is evident, that eather his doctrine is fals, or els that he wirkis against the manifest treuth.

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That nixt Sonday the sermond endit, Jhone Knox requyred a litle audience of his congregacione. · Becaus, said he, I am accused as a schismaticke and fals doctore, and so he red the ticket that accused him self, and therefore said, God be mercifull to my accusatouris and give them grace cleirly to sie and perfectlie to vnderstand the doctrine, which be me God hes pronounced ever since it pleased his mercie to illuminate myne eyes, and to instruct my hart with the brightness of his word. And God grant me patience,

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that without bitterness I may beare the opprobrie of the croce of Jesus Christ, whairintill I praye my God I am so assisted be his holie spreit, that gif I had not farther respect to you, who now of so long tyme have bene my accusatouris, then I have or ever had to my self, I suld never oppin my mouth in my awin defence. Bot becaus I am not ignorant that Sathan, through his malice, seikis to deface the treuth of God in my waik persone, I dare not pas by sic accusationes with silence. The ditement seames to smell of some craftie lawles man of lawes brane. And yit gif I list to handle him as his folie deservis, I myght easilie lat him see, that in accusing the author of that tractat, he hes neather luketh to God, Nature, nor to iust law. His dilemma beginis with a conditional, saying, gif the buik intitulat, the first blast of the trumpet be grundit, &c ; why may not Jhone Knox be called a seditious man, and a fals doctor, that so arrogantlie set foorth the same. I will onlie answir his gif with ane vther, and so say, gif that be grundit vpon gude reasons, vpon Godis plane treuth, and vpon most plane and iust lawes, then hes the accusatour neather God before his eyes, knowledge of iust lawes, nor yit reverence to nature. And so lat one gif answir ane vther till that farther probatione be produced. He bauldlie affirms, that that buik is grundit upon a schism, &c. Whairto I answir, that the affirmatione

of a liare may not be a sufficient pruiſe againſt me, principallie in his awin cauſe. A good and vyſe dialectisiane wold have laboured to have laid ſome pruiſe before that he wold have ſo raſchlie pronounced : and ſo becauſe the former part of his dilemma heſ no grither ſtrenth than his awin affirmative. I ſay it is broken, and he is a manifeſt liare ; gif ever I entreated that argument in publick or in privat ſen my laſt arrival in Scotland, his argument myght have probabilitie, bot ſeing I can not be convicted, a ſchismaticke I can not be proven. Bot the ſecond horne of his argument the craftie accuſator thinks I can not avoid, for thus he wrytes : gif it be grundit vpon ane infallible treuth, why then doeth he avow and approve the contrarie, I mean that regiment in the Quene of Englandis perſone, which he avowes and approves, not onlie in praying for the ſame, the menteanance of hir eſteat (as he heſ done dyvers tymes opinlie in pulpet) but alſo in ſuiting and procureing be himſelf and vtheris of his alluring, hir ayde and ſupport againſt his awin native cuntrie, &c. This horne, he thinkis ſo ſtrong, that no force is able to breck it ; and yet my gude hope is, that the hamer of Godis trueth ſall ſchaw it to be more frayle and vaik then ever glas was. He affirmes, that I approve the contrarie, to wit, that ſame regiment, in the perſone of the quene of England, his probatioun is, I pray for the mentea-

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nance of hir estait, and I procure hir ayde and help against my native countre. These appeare, to my accusatoris so strong, as said is, that I am not able to avoide them. And yet, I say that neather of both his ressones fecht against me, for neather doeth the prayer of Godis servantis, for the meaintenance of comone wealthis, whare the people of God remanes, prove that Godis servantis allow all things done in sic comone wealthis, neather yet dois the seiking of help (ewin from the wicked) prove that the Godlie iustifies the wicket. And that these, my assertiones, may be vnderstand to be most true, and sure, I will not alledge the testimonies of prophane vryteris, but content my self with the mouth of God, and with the factis of thame, who, in thare cheif actiones war ruled be the spreit of God. For exemple, I bring the propheitis of God, that servit in Israel, from the dayes of Jeroboam, the sone of Nebat, till the destructione of that kingdome, of whome (I meane of Godis propheitis) some comforted the kingis, althought they were wicked. Some forewarned thame of dangeris, some gave the charge to fight with promiseis of victorie. But did ony of these actis prove that the propheitis did allow and approve that kingdome of idolatrie, or thare vnatural defectione from the hous of David. Jeremie prayed and comandit the Jewis to pray, for the prosperitie and health of Nabuchadnesare; did he ther-

fore iustifie his creweltie against Jerusalem. I am assured he did not, as his awin prophesie beareth plane witnes, and so my praying for the Quene of England can not prove that I doe any thing contraire the treuth affirmed in that buike. This same I answer to the second member of his probatione, to wit, that I seik and procure hir ayde, and therefore I iustifie hir authoritie ; I answer, that gif he were able to prove his assertione, to wit, that I seik and procure hir ayde, yet is he never able to prove that neather my doctrine is fals, or that I wirk against the manifest treuth, *Quia omnia munda mundis*. David persewed be Saull sought support and refuge of Achis, king of Gath : did he therefore approve and iustifie the enormities that was vsed in Palestina ? My accusator may consider how easie it is to simple trueth to break the strengthe of lyes, how artificialle that ewer they be composed. But one thing in the end I may not pretermit, that is to give him a lye in his throat, that eather dar, or will say, that ever I sought support against my native countrie. What I have bene to my countrie, albeit, this vnthankfull aige will not knowe, yet the aiges to come wilbe compelled to beare witnes to the treuth : and thus I cease, requyring of all men that has to opone ony thing against me, that he will doe it so planelie as that I mak myself and all my doingis manifest to the world ; for to me it seames a thing most

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vnressonable, that, in this my decrepit aige, I salbe compellit to fight against schaddowes and howlatts, that dar not abyde the light.

This answer gewin to that horned argument in public, with gritter vehemencie then it is written, accusatione be wryting against Jhone Knox ceased for a tyme, for men had vther thingis to think vpon.

2 The castell of Dunbartan was tacken the 2 of Aprile, 1571. The geat, with the gilteane horne, the lord Fleming, who knew none but the king of France, tuike the sea. The great bischop of Sanct Androis was hanged; his Epitaph on the Gibbet was *Cresce diu felix arbor semperque vireto. O utinam semper talia poma feras* \*.

The winning of Dumbartan was thus. The secound of Aprile, the said castle was tacken in the morning, about the brecking of the day. Whairin was tacken the bischop of St Androis, with vtheris of the Quene of Englandis rebelis. My lord Fleming escapit by flight, in a litle bote. Boghall, and the bischop, were

\* John Hamilton, archbishop of St Andrews, and formerly treasurer of Scotland. After various vicissitudes, arising chiefly from his loyalty to Queen Mary, and his attachment to the Catholic faith, this prelate had been forced to seek refuge in Dumbarton Castle. He was brought to trial on various charges, found guilty, and put to death with indecent precipitation. The ignominious fall of the head of the Catholic church afforded a subject of great exultation to the Protestants.

brought to Stirveling schortly after, with the Regent. The bischop was execut the 7 of the same moneth, whare he confessit the Regentis murther. Boghall was delayed ; how long I can not tell.

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A discourse of the winning of the castell of Dumbartane be my lord Regentis Grace, the 2 of Aprile, 1571.

First, the enterprys being devysed and concludit be his Grace, wharevnto there was none made prive, except foure persones, in the beginning. Vpon the which, his Grace sent for the larde of Drumquhassil, being then at home, in his awin hous, and Thomas Crawford, to whome his Grace communicat the executing of the said interprise, and in respect of the schortnes of tyme which his Grace had to remane at Glasgow, being verie single accompaneit, except with his household men and servandis, and men of warre, tuike purpose to hazard schortlie. And vpon the first day of Aprile, at tuo after none, directed the said lard of Drumquhassell with the hors men, to mak all passages sure, both be land and water, betwixt Glasgow and Dumbartan, afoir the departing of the futemen, which was at six houris at ewin, in caise advertisment suld have past at thair removing ; appointing thame to meit the said lard at the hill of Dunbuck, at ten houris at ewin, a myle distant from the craig, whair all kepit tryst, both horsmen and futemen. The passages, bayth

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be land and vater being weill set, at the said meitting place, the said larde of Drumquhassil, and Thomas Crawford, be comand of my lord Regentes Grace, declared the interpryse to the whole suddeartis, and how the maner and moyen was made to perform the same, be ane guyde conductit, and hyred to that effect, presentlie thair; and swa, be gude persuasions, the said captanes and futemen tuike the enterprise stoutlie in hand, in Godis name, and the kingis. In the meantyme, they repared thare ledderis and towes, and put all in good order, so long as the moone remaned vp, which past to at 12 houris in the nyght, and then beand bot thrie houris to day light, past on there fute with the ledderis to the craig (and ane thing cheiflie to be noted, a grit lyght of fyre rysing out of the grund behind thame, and past suddanlie away) and thair laboured in clymbing of the same, whiles vp, whyles dovne, notwithstanding the crying of the watche, till at last, by the vailzeantnes of Captane Craford, Home, and Ramsay, they wan to the fute of the biggit wall, vpon the heicht of the craig, be the brek of day, at which tyme, be the providence of God, ane cloud of mist circuit the craig about, in sic darknes, that the watchman could not sie our folkis, notwithstanding the day lycht, and then, schortlie, the ledderis were sett to, and Captane Ramsay being the first vpon the ledder, enterit, cryant, *God and the king,*



*a Darnlie, a Darnlie!* and beand persaved, be some within the place; was persewit be thame, and schortlie releived be the suddeartis following, and thair, at the first entrie, thare was thrie of thame within the Hous slane, and the same win without ony mair skayth. In this meantyme, the lord Fleming, principall captane, seing the place win, past out at a quyet part of the neather baillie \* and beand full sea, gat ane boit neir hand, and past in Argyle. The bischop of St Androis, the maister of Levingstoun †, the lard of Boghall ‡, Virac, the French kingis agent, and ane Englisman, with the rest of the suddeartis within the place, tackin prisonaris, with my ladie Fleming, who were all deteanit till my lord Regentis Grace coming the morne at ten houris in the morning, whare his Grace schew grit kyndnes to my ladie, and disponit to hir certane landis of hir husbandis, with hir silver weschell, and apparell, and all that belangit to hir.

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Ane letter of Thomas Craufurd to the same effect, written to Jhone Knox, at the lard of Braidis request.

Ryght honorable Sir, After my hartie comendationis, the lard of Braid schawis me that ye are desy-

\* The postern gate, or sally port.

† Probably Alexander Livingston, afterwards earl of Linlithgow. His mother was a daughter of Malcolm Lord Fleming, uncle of the Lord Fleming mentioned here.

‡ Fleming of Boghall.

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rous to know the maner of the tacking of Dunbartane, and what we fand into it. The maner was this, I haiv- and knowledge of the maner how they watched, and whare, and havand an yeoman man, ane that had bene ane of the watchmen of before, wha knew all the craigs whare it was best to clymb, and whare fewest ledderis wald serve, without ony farther intelligence, I tuik on hand to give ane assay, and to doe that thing that was possible. Vpon the which, we departed from Glasgow ane houre before the sone setting, I haivand provydit of befoir, the ledderis and coardis, and crawes of iron, to put betuixt craigis to put coardis to; and afoir we struke our drvm in Glasgow, sent out horsmen to keip all the passages, that none suld gang befoir; and sua we past fordwart, while we come to the hill of Dunbucke, within ane myle of the said castle, and thare, about one efter midnyght, we lay downe our ledderis, and our cordis, and sortit all our busines, as it were lang to write. Bot everie man hath his hacquebutt, bound vpon his bak, and everie ledder had dyvers coardis put to it, and ane coard from the former end of this; we gangand but one man behind ane vther to the hinder end, swa that everie man had the said coard in his handis, and the formest to guyde all. Sua no man that held ane grip of the coard could gang by the way, becaus it was in the nyght. Now we had mony fowseis to pas, and ane deip water, brig-

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ged with ane single trie afoir we come to the castell ; and the formest of vs buire the ledderis, and sua we past fordwart ; and becaus they suspected not the laighest part of the craig there was not ane watche in that part of the wall abone, within sex scoir of futtes to the part whare we enterit, we thought it best to assay it at the same part, called the Beik, and when we had knite the ledderis of thrie scoir of steppis, we were yet xx steppis from ane trie, which was above vs. To the which trie, the guyde and my self wan to without ledderis with grit difficultie, tacking coardis with vs, and feschoned the said coardis at the trie, and sua letting the cordis hing doune to the ledderis, whairwith men myght draw thame selvis vp to the trie ; and when we were at the trie, we had fyvescoir of fadomes to the rute of the wall, to the which we bare coardis in lyk maner. Be this was done, day licht was come, becaus it was long of doing, and thare we tuik one of the ledderis and brought to the wall, whairwith, we enterit everie man ; and at the entrie of the first man vpon the top of the wall, the watche that sat besyde, saw him, and immediatlíe he cryed and wacknet the place, and ane clud of myst fell about vs, which was litle lychter than the nyght ; and thare comes out of sindrie houses of the place men runing naked, sua that there wes incontinet thrie slaine and sindrie hurt, and sua the restis givis backis, and incontinet we wan

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thair artailzerie, and thair pouder and thair bulletis, and turned the samyn to thame self, wha yet keapit Wallace toure, the Quhit towre, with the windiehall, the chalmer betuene the craigis, and the neather bailie, and als sone as they saw thair awin artailzerie turned to thame self, everie man tuik him to his schift, and becaus the myst was sua donc thick, some lap the wallis and escapit, and vther some we gat, as ye have hard ; and what munitione, and vther thingis we gat within the hous, ye sall receave the inventar of it as iust as I can give it you ; and farder, I can not say, except ane thing that I will assure you of, as I live, we have no maner of intelligence within the hous, nor without the hous, nor I have spoken of befor, sua comittis you to the keping of the eternal God. Of Leith the 14 day of Januar. Be youris asured at power. Thomas Craufurd of Jordanhill. Written to Jhone Knox.

The inventare of the munitione within the castell of Dunbartane, the tyme of the entrie of the laird of Drumwhassil, as Captane therto.

Item, in the first, ane gross culvering, mounted for the wallis, and not for the feildis, with twentie foure bulletis for hir.

Item, tuo batteris monted for the wallis, and not for the feildis, with sufficient number of bullatis for thame.

Item, tua myons ; ane monted for the wallis, and

not for the feildis ; the vther vnmonted eather for wallis or feildis, with sufficient number of bullatis for thame tua.

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Item, tua bartenyie falcones, monted for the wallis, and not for the feildis, with sufficient number of bullatis for thame.

Item, ane quarter falcone, monted for the wallis, and not for the feildis, with sufficient number of bullatis for hir.

Item, thrie hacquebutis of fovnd, whole, and ane brocken.

Item, ane duple Bars of Irne.

Item, ane single Bars.

Item, thrittie grit barrelis of Cannon poulder.

Item, viii. barreillis of hacquebut of fovnd poulder.

Item, xviii calleveris : of thea at my L. comand ane gewin to Harie Wedderburne, ane vther to George Dundas. Restis therof, xvi.

Item, of speiris, headit and vnheadit, lx.

Item, of Culvering powder, thrie barralis.

Item, of victuallis left in the place at our entres therto, after my lordis departing.

Imprimis, of Wyne, xx tunis.

Of meill, tuelve chalderis.

Item, of wheat, ten bollis.

Item, of malt, viii bollis.

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Of bisquite, xi whole hogheidis.

Item of Balcone, four whoill puncheones:

At this tyme, a constant rumor rais of the returning of the erle of Mortoun from England, with a gud dispatche. These, and vther thingis, made poore Jhone Knox to be the more quiet fra all accusationes, and yet he ceassed not to doe according to his accustomed manner, publictly reproving the murther of King Harie Stewart, invented be the quene, fortified be sic as after God made instruments to confound hir, and put in executione be Bothwell and vtheris, whome God will yit disclose. He ceased not to pray in publick for the king and for his regent, and to exhort the people to stand constant in defence of the present authoritie, notwithstanding of the Quenis braggingis, and of all hir Lieutenantis, who had apointed ane conventione at Edinburgh, the 10 of Aprile, 1571, whair of we ceis to speik, abyding farther knowledge of the end.

The captane of the castle hes declared by his letter to ane gentleman of honest fame, that he will receave the Ducke and his sones, and will accompanie thame. He hes this houre upon Fryday the 20 of April, 1571, Claud Hamiltoun, in the castle of Edinburgh, Arthure of Meritoun, Robert of Inchemachan, and a sort of the strongest throatcutteris of the Hamiltones, going planelie vpon Edinburgh calsay. However, that he be blindeth, whosoewer fearis God, seis his handis

defyled with his maisters blood, in that he ioynes with menteaneris of the murtherere.

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Now Lord be mercieful to thy pure flock within this realme, and chieflie within this citie, give me strenth, Lord, to fight my battel lauchfullie, and welcome be thy mercifull providence with thy gude pleasure: for in death I doubt not to overcome death and to get entrance in eternall lyfe be Jesus Christ, in whose handis I comend my spreit.

Lord provyde for thy flocks trew pastouris; reas thou vp the spreitis of some to observe thy notable workis, faythfullie to comit the same to writ, that the prosperities to come may praise thy holie name, for the great graces plentyfullie powred foorth vpon this vnthankfull generatione. Jhone Knox trusting end of trawell.

Efter the tacking of the Bischop, the Hamiltounis regene sought up and down, to apprehend some man for the bischop's releif, and be chance the Duckis sone Claud, tuike a boy with certane cleathis, of my Lord of Maris going to Stirveling, and some travellouris of this toun of Edinburgh, whome they late depart vpon sovertie to enter agane at their calling.

Before this, there was a conventione in this toun of Edinburgh, of the Quenis lordis for dischargene of this Regent; (Erle of Leuenox) and chosing ane vther in his place, and the larde of Grange to be Lieu-

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tenent, which or now, had not bene to doe, gif God had not prevented, be the tacking of Dumbartane, to thair grit grief and displeasour.

My Lord Huntlie come to this toun about the 6 or 8 of Aprile for the same purpose. On Tuysday the tent of Apryle, the heid of wit the Secretare, landit in the nyght at Leyth, whare he remaned till the morne, and was borne up with sex workmen with sting and ling, and Mr Robert Maitland hauuling vp his head, and when they had put him in at the castell yeat, ilk ane of the workmen gat iii sh. which they receavit grudginglie, hoping to have gottin mair for their labouris. And being put in Lord Home's chalmer, he maid the lord exceeding angrie that he suld be discharged for sic a one.

14 On Setterday the 14 of Aprile, the Lord Hereis and Maxwell, with the larde of Lochinware, come to this toun about 10 houris afternyne, and lyghted at the castell yeat. This nyght at ewin about 11 houris, Captane Melving come vnto Robert Lekprivickis hous, and sought him (as he had done tuyse of befor) and looketh all the hous for the Cameleone \* which.

\* A Satire written by George Buchanan, in which Maitland was treated with uncommon severity. The name of this typographer, Robert Lekprevik is well known to antiquarians: it is particularly conspicuous in the libels against the queen and all her party then put into circulation.



the Secretare fearit that he had prentit ; bot he be-  
and warned before, escapet, and went out of his hous  
with sic thingis as he feared suld have hurt him gif  
they had bene gottin.

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On Monunday the 16 day, the Lordis Huntlie,  
Home, and Hereis, with Lochinware \*, gead down the  
geat to Leith port, whare they lap on and rade to  
Leith, to rin thair hors and tak the ayre, for the Lord  
Home had not cume off the castell mekle of half a  
yeir befor. Bot Sir James Balfour, who had bene  
little schorter tyme therin then he, come not furth to  
soone him with the rest ; whither he was halden in  
or not I can not tell, becaus a brute was of some trea-  
sone he suld have wroght against the castell, which  
tyme will try. About fyve houris at ewin, they come  
vp the gait ryding to the castell yeat.

16

Tysday the 17 day at 10 houris at ewin, the Lord  
Hereis and Lochinware departed home, wha belyk  
had not agried to subscriue with them of the castell ;  
and so I think this conventionone for that tyme to be at  
the height. The Lord Maxwell departed the nixt

17

\* Sir John Gordon of Lochinvar, a steady and loyal partisan  
of queen Mary. He married a daughter of Lord Heries.

April 1571 day (as some said) to meit the Lord of Mortoun, who come to Tantallon \* homeward out of England.

18 On Wednesday the 18 day at ewin, betuixt ten and ellewin houris, thair was a fray upon the Captanes suddeartis, and in the castell, becaus tuo men ryding in the long geat schot thair pistolis, or els a culvering for a salutation to the castell.

19 Thursday the 19 day at nyght, about midnyght, Captane Melvin came and rapped at the baillies yeat, Mungo Fairlies, who had the keyis of the west port; and the said Captane passed furth with his men of warre, as though they went to see some men that was going vpon the croftis with lunttis †. But it was to receive in Claud Hamiltoun, the Duckis sone into the  
20 castell: and on the morn being Fryday the 20 day, Arthur of Meritoun vas opinlie gangand vp and down the heich gait with dyvers vtheris of them. This day the baillies and sum of the counsall heiring this word of Claud's resetting in the castell, asked the captane, who denyed that he was thare. This day was tane be the castell men ane Patrick Ogilvie, for betraying the castell be lettre, fra Sir James Balfour, to Stirveling as they alledged. This nyght, some brether fear-

\* Tantallon castle. In the reign of James V this castle belonged to the crown, and probably continued so; but considerable obscurity attends its history.

† That is, going through the adjacent fields with torches.

ing for Jhone Knox, thair minister, come and watched all nyght in his hous.

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The same day the Captane beand desyred that the toun myght have a guard for the savetie of their minister whom they feared, becaus that the Hamiltounis said the Lordis, wald tak it in ewill part, and think it were done for thame, and said, that gif they feared him, they wald give Captane Melvin wha was an auld protestant, (a protestant lyk the Secretare) with his band convoy with him to the kirk and from it. He wold gif the woulf the wedder to keip.

Ane of thir dayis Mungo Fairlie being in the castell, seeing Arthour Hamiltoun of Myrretoun, who had before tane Jhone Nymmell, burges of this burgh of Edinburgh, and had gottin his band, charged the Captane to hald the said Arthure in ward, or elis delyver the said Jhonis band, which was delyvered that same instant.

Vpon Sondag the 22. of Aprile, at 8 houris at ewin, the said Arthure and Alexander Baillie of [Lamyn-toun] spous to the auld lady Lamyntoun, the Duckis sister tuik James Inglis tailyeour burges of this toun, behind St Cuthbertis kirk, cuming out that day at morne fra Stirveling, wha had been at the kingis Grace, becaus he is his workman.

22

All this tyme sen the taking of Dumbartan, for the most part, the captane had workmen laboring about

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23

the castell, and casting of ane sewche, and paring away the grene gars, and making all thingis smothe and sliddrie from climming of the wallis.

On the morne, the counsall and the deaconis of the craftis went and spak the Captane about James Inglis, who promised that he suld be rendered as he was tane, and that he had sent ane for him befor theyre cuming. This same nyght, which is Monunday the 23 of Aprile, come the lord of Kilwinning \*, and the lard of Stenous to the castell, and dyvers vtheris to the toun ; and was supposed that the Duck suld be in the the castell that nyght. At this tyme, certane merchantis of this toun, affirmed that they saw Mr James Kircaldie (who not long before was send to France for support be the Captane and his counsall), ganging in Pareis, and in familiare talking with Jamie Hamiltoun of Bothelhaugh †, wha traiterauslie slew Mr James maister. The 25 of Aprile, the foirsaid James Inglis come hame agane.

25

On Weddinsday the 25 of Aprile at 'ewin, about xi houris befor mydnyght, there was some young men of the toun gangand vpon the gait, and the watches of the stiple asking what they were, fell in schort wordis, bidding them remember on Brichen, &c. And the watch of the stiple sending ane of the crose-

\* Gavin Hamilton, abbot of Kilwinning.

† The murderer of the late regent the earl of Murray.

guard, wha cuming down the gate, mett of thare awin cumpany that had come out of the stiple to persew the young men of the toun, who were departit out of sicht, and they of the stiple meiting with the crose-guard foirsaid, cryed, 'lay upon the theives,' and the vtheris said, 'get the tratouris,' and they gave ilk vther thare paikis, vnknowin to vtheris, sa that on the morne, the blude was sene upon the streits. Thare was about 8 or 9 ewill hurt, and sum mutilate.

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Friday the 27 of Aprile, the lord of Mortoun come agane fra Stirveling to Dalkeith, and the tua bandis of the Regentis suddeartis come with him. This nyght ane man fell ower the foir blockhous and died, who wes filland the gabionis with earth. This nyght also about midnyght, the captanis suddeartis took out the townes ordinance and artellerie out of the kirk, and sum pickis out of the counsalhous.

27

Setterday the 28 day, betuixt 9 houris and ten at ewin, they went down about vi<sup>xx</sup> men to Andro Hendersonis, seikand ane Tod which was not thare. And therafter betuix ane and tua they strack the grand drvme and went to the same houses, seiking for the same man, and captane Melvin entering with 20 and him self (vnder promise) to seik the hous as he did; but at his departing, the rest of his men entered and tuke foure servantis of Mr James M'Gillis, the gudman him self, with tuo vther young men scholaris

28

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new comet from St Androis. A neighbour wife demanding what they sought that tyme of nyght, and suddart gave hir a strocke whairof she died incontinent.

29

Sonday the 29 day at sermond tyme, the fray rýses becaus of the Regentis suddartis, about a vi<sup>xx</sup> men and xxx horsemen, come to Leyth, whare they proclaimed letteris, and after dener come to the nether bow and schot in therat, and proclaimed thare lettres at the Canno cross, as also strack there drvme, desyring all that wald tak wages of the king, etc. and sua past away neir to Craigmiller. Bot the Lordis Home, Huntlie, Kilwinning, Coldinghame\*, with all the gentlemen of the castell (the Captane, and Sir James Balfour, except with a few vtheris in the hous) followed furth after thame, with Captane Melvingis band, and Captane Culanis band, to the number altogether of pickmen and hacquebutteris xiiii<sup>xx</sup> numbered men. The Regentis men persewing thame, come furth, and efter come back vpon the foirsaidis Lordis and thair cumpany, and schamefullie dange them in at the Kirk of Feild port, notwithstanding the shooting of the grit ordinance out of the castell, whare there were slane to the number of      and tane. That nyght the nyghtbouris of the castellhill gat gud rest as

\* Prior of Coldinghame.

they confessit vpon the morne. Captane Moffat was verie ewill hurt with a speir through the said port steiking it. The Lord Huntly stoutlie discharged his dag at the cuming in agane of the port, becaus he durst not had his face to the perseweris.

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Monunday the last of Aprile, the Captane made proclamatione, at 4 houris afternovne, declaring his friendschip towardis the town, amonges whome he knew mony enemies, as he had found some in thare houses with armour for the support of his enemies, and becaus he could not be sure of them, he desyrit all that wold not be ioyned with him in ane reciprocal band with him and his freindis, to avoyd the towne within sex houris.

30

Tuysday the first of May, they begouth to mak barres above the butt~~er~~ trone for the defence of the castell. Efter the proclamatione, the counsall of the toun send to the Captane to sie his mynd about the proclamatione, &c. which, said he, man be intrepreted according to his meaning which is this. It is not unknown to the counsall comunitie and inhabitants within this toun of Edinburgh, what gud nyghtboreheid and friendschip the captane of the castell hes vsed towardis them in all tymes bygane; what comoditie hes redoundit to thame therthrough, and from what inconvenience they have bene preservit by his meanis. In which kind of societie with them, he can verie

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weill be content to remane and continewe in all tymes cuming, they geving him no caus to the contraire. It is notore what eneminitie the erle of Lenox and his factione beiris against the said Captane, publisit and set out to the world by dyvers opprobrious proclamations full of calumneis, whairwith not content, he and his factione foirsaid, are determined to invade and persew the said captane with all maner hostilitie, als weill be opin forcis as secret interpryses, as planelie may appeir be the privie missives direct in all partes of the realme, and publict charges set furth be vertue of his vsurped regiment; whairthrou the said captane, is in honour and dewitie compellit to provyde for his awin sovertie and preservatione of his freindis, and in tyme to tak heid, that be privie intelligence of some within the bowelis of this burgh, to his enemeis he be not suppressit. He doubtis not the gude caus he hes made to this toun in generall, and everie ane in particular, will move all honest men to be his friendis. And yit the proceadingis of sum seditious personis being assembled together in cumpaneis in privat housses, on the nyght, with weaponis and armour, keipand watche and warde without his knowledge (whairof sum hes bene deprehendit in the said doing) gifis him sufficient grund to suspect that there is sum ewill myndit, meaning to ioyne thame selfis with his enemies for his subuersione:



notwithstanding he is myndit to deal planelie, direct-  
lie, and sincerlie with evrie man professing him self  
freind to his freindis and enemie to his enemeis.  
Thairfore I mak it knowin to you all, ye nyghtbouris  
of this toun, in the Captanis name, and vpon his be-  
half; that sa mony of you as will profes your friend-  
schip towardis him and his freindis, and be assured  
freindis to him in effect, may reciprocatie be assured  
that he will not onlie be ane gud nyghtbour, but also  
to menteane and defend you against all deidlie; sua  
that ye sall not be trubled in your persones, gudis or  
vtherwayis. And be the contrair, I denunce to all  
vtheris that are myndit to concure with the said erle  
of Lennox and his enemeis foirsaidis, and will not  
assure the said captane of thair freindschip, that in-  
continent within sex houris efter this proclamati-  
one, that the said sex houris being bypast, gif ony of thame  
be apprehendit he sall denunce them as enemeis, and  
they sall remane at there perrell, whairof he hes  
thought gude to give you publict knowledge, that none  
may pretend ignorance, or think him self ewill vsed  
vnder traist.

Befoir our departour furth of Edinburgh, the first  
of Maij, the lard of Elphinstoun wrait a letter to his  
gude-brother, Robert Melving, that Mr Knox suld  
not be trubled, &c: for the which purpose Robert  
Melvile wrytis to the lard of Braid, as followes:

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Sir, it may pleis you to wit, that I have resavit ane letter fra my gud-brother the lard of Elphinstoun, to desyre me be cairfull that Mr Knox incure no displeasure, but that the lard (meaning the captane) and my self suld tak ordour therin which we have not pretermitted to this present, nottheles in respect the lard is compellit to tak the assistance of some (that beiris Mr Knox na gud will) for his awin defence, I pray you to caus him eather cum heir whare he sal be preserved as our selvis, or that ye convoy him to some freindis hous while ye vnderstand sum quyeting of thir troubles. Assur your self albeit he hes vsed vs vtherwayis than we deservit, we wald be als lothe to see his displeasour as vtheris that he lippinis more vnto. Ye will do heirin according to your wisdome, for he may get harme being at this tyme within the toun, and we innocent, which wold be ane grit greif vnto vs, besydis sclander without desert. This Fryday. Be youris to comand. Robert Melving.

*Post Scripta.* Lykwayis tak heid to your self, for albeit ye sal never laik our gud will and intelligence, when we know of your hurt, yit be assured there is gritter personages heir present that will have vther respectis. Be the moir circumspect.

Answer to this. Sir I have receaved your wryting, whairof I thank you most hartlie. As to me to enter in to persuade Mr Knox to remove fra his vocatione,

I can not weill doe, but ther is tuo thingis I most warne you of, medle with him wha will to his hurt, God sall reveng it or it be long. The vther is, that gif the larde and ye be his freind as ye say ye are, there is none that is come to that toun will medle with him. But notwithstanding, I will travell as farre as I may, that he sall remove aff the toune, and for my self I will keip my awin hous, and gif ony persew me there, I hope in God they sall have na honour nor wantage.

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Ane vther letter written be a freind. Sir I have spooken the man that wrait to you, and lykwayis the principall, first be thame selvis apart, and thereafter together, anent your awin part, and the vther manis that was written to you for, as to his parte, they both think it best, that he remove for a ceasone, for sen thir folkis cuming to this towne, it hes bene planelie ressonit, that although the principallis will doe him nor wis him no hurt, yit they can not pleadge there honouris for his savetie fra the multitude and rascall, and they say, and it is true, when he is gone, there is no remeid nor restitutione for his lyfe; and trewlie, sa farre as I can persave, they speik it of a gud hart, and vpon intentione onlie of his preservatione. Therefore, sir, I wald wis ye suld write your gude counsall to him to will him to remove for a ceasone. As to your awin part, it hes bene spooken amongis

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thir folkis that are cum in, that they sall revendge thair hearschip vpon the Lowthiane lardis and named a certane of them, and named you amonges the leave. Quhairfore, he that wreat to you thought gude to give you aduertisement therof be the principalis, advise, not in ony wayis to fray you, or to will you to remove yourself or your gudis, bot alenierlie to tak tent about you, and to be the mair circumspect, assuring you that they sall give you intelligence of it, and in cais it happen to be done by there intelligence, there credit sall fealyea, but it sall be redressit. Alwayis they would not wis it to cum to that seay, gif eather your gud circumspectione or thair aduertisement myght preserve it, I find it gud that ye may, and sua comittis you to God. The caus why I come not vp is, that I wald help to travell with the vther man for his removing.

This day (the 1 of Maij) the lord Boyd entered in comoning with thame of the castell (as was reported) for some gud wayis, &c. He was in the castell (as is said) the 3 or 4 day preceeding (27 of Aprile). The Fryday preceeding the lord Cassilis was send to Dumbarten, to waird, Eglintoun to Dovne and Boghall to Blackness \*.

o

\* Blackness castle. This castle is washed by the river Forth. It stands about half way between Edinburgh and Stirling, from

Weddinsday the secund of Maij, 1571, they began to mak the vther barres at the strate of the west bow.

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Thursday the 3 day they enterit in the tolbuith and counsall-hous, and Andrew Lyndsayis hous, so that the scribes were compellit to remove all there letteria. The same day they spoiled my lord Regentis, ludgene and tuik out his pottis, panes, &c. his linger about his hous with sum canabie beddis, albeit they were of little importance.

- On Sonday preceding, the 29 of Aprile, Jhone Cairnes being ministring mariage and baptisme efter nyne befor sermond, as they went out of this town against the kingis folkis, thare cumis into the kirk ane Wilkie by name, a priest was, and now a suddeour with 7 or 8 with him, crying, away, away, &c.

Fryday the 4 of Maij, 1571, the duc come into Edinburgh betuixt 7 and 8 houris, who had riddin all nyght, accompanied with his sone Claud, being in number about ane hundreth hors and seventy futmen, als gud lyk men of warre as vses to cum out of Argyll. This day they begouth the holing of the woult of St Geilis Kirk \* which they made lyk a riddle for

which it may formerly have been of consequence; but now it is a place of no strength. It seems to have been used as a state prison.

† The chief church in the metropolis, though not a Cathedral; nor was there a bishops See there before the subsequent century.

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to schoot whome they pleased within the kirk, or that wald break down the pillaris. This is thocht to be Mr [Sir] James Balfoures devyse with the lordis Huntlie and Kilwynning, who with Captane Melville, come down and visiet the whole kirk and stiple, both vnder and abone. This day Captane Culan was brocken (a famous man) and ane vther put in his place.

Setterday the fyft day of Maij, 1571, Jhone Knox departed the toun sore against his will, being compellit by the brethern of the kirk and toun, becaus that his tarie wold be ane occasione of farther trouble vnto them, and ane occasione of the schedding of blood for his defence, whome they culd not sie persecuted without assisting of him, which myght come to both there destructiones. This day was renforced all the portis of the toun, except the nedder bow and waster port. The comvnione this Sondag following was delayed becaus of the troubles.

*A memoriall of sic thingis as were done in this towne of Edinburgh, sen the departour of Jhone Knox minister out of the same, sore against his will.*

Friday the fourt of Maij, the ducke and his sone Claude come to this toun, to the number of ane hundred hors, and threescore hacquebutteris or therby, and lyghted at the castell gate. At efternyne they went all to the counsall in the castell, where all the murthereris were together, and Grange now ioyned with the Ha-

miltones wha slewe his maister ; a thing befoir, few  
wald have beleevd, which causes vtheris to believe  
him to be als guiltie as they war of that innocent  
blood.

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The Captane desyred ane assurance to certane men  
in the toun, of the counsall thare present, and in spe-  
ciall to Jhone Knox, minister, that he suld not be hurt  
be the Hamiltones; wha answerit, that they culd not pro-  
meis him assurance vpon there honouris, becaus there  
was mony rascalis and vtheris amonges them that loved  
him not, that myght doe him harme without thair  
knowledge.

The brether of the toun seing thair minister in  
danger, come vnto him with Mr Jhone Craig, also being  
minister, and desyred him, in the name of God, to de-  
part (as oftymes they had done before); but seing in  
no wayis him to condescend vnto there desyre, they  
said they culd not see him in ony wayis suffer harme;  
but it behoved thame to assist and defend him against  
whomsoever wald hurt him, and so in defending him  
it suld be the occasione of thair awin destructione  
(becaus now they were [not] able to resist the Hamil-  
tonis, and the rest in the towne); therefore they char-  
ged thair said minister, Mr Knox, in Godis name, as  
he tenderit there savetie and weill to depart, which  
gif he did not, that gif thare blude war sched for his

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caus, and in his defence, that God would requyre it of his handis. And so be this occasione, he departed on the morne, the 8 of Maij, ower the water of Leyth and went to Abbotishall, whare he is presentlie.

This first of Maij, all the portis were closed vp, except the eist and wast portes. This day also Alexander Baillyea tuicke thre cofferis of Mr James M'Gillis going out of Leyth, to Pinckie, estemed worth 1000 lib. Also the bischop of Orknayis silver work, tane be some of that sort betuixt this toun and Leyth.

The day of the duckes cuming to the toun, the woulte of the kirk was holit in all partis, so that nane culd cum therin, without sicht of thame that are above, neather can ony enter or be in the kirk, but they may be schot from above.

The table of the lord was now in hand, and tuo Sondagis past, and tuo was cuming of the ministracione therof; bot this Sondag following it was delayed, be what occasione time will try. The ducce come to the sermond this Sondag, (Mr Craig preiching) with his sone Claud, the lord Huntlie, and the rest, wha efter sermond departed when he was going to mak the prayer.

Monday the 7 of Maij, 1571, dyvers poore choemen and vtheris were spoyled be the Hamiltones or be there men, especiallie be Jamie Baxter. This day



some gentlemen of the lord of Mortounis houshold come and raid vpon Haggartanes craft, before the castell, for all the shooting, calling them traytouris both to God and man, murthereris ; but none went furth to brek a speir.

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A proclamacione was made, that none of thir lordis retinew suld truble ony inhabitant within this toun, nor ony vther subiect, that hath not borne armes against them, or assisted thair enemeis : and gif ony suddart tuke ony man, he suld incontinent bring him to his Captane ; and gif a gentleman took ony, that he suld bring him to the lordis, that tryall myght be tane gif he had come in there contrarie, or assisted there enemeis.

Tuysday the 8 of Maij, Mr James Kirkaldie come home out of France in a litle bark of 30 tvn, whairat was no small reioising and proud bragging. All horsmen and footmen went furth doun to Leyth to the lossing of the said bark, which incontinent was broght vp to the castell efter there lossing. There war fyve or sex cofferis honorablie convoyed, as thocht they had bene full of gold, as they said they were. There was in hir foure or fyve tvn of wine, thre or foure last of powder, some crosletis, and roches of small ordnance, and sum bisquet, and sic lyk. As for gold, I think it myght be tauld in few houres.

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9 Weddinsday the 9 of Maij, the lord Argyle, Boyd, and the duckis sone Arbrothok \*, come in at ten houris at ewin. The tuo former come to sie gif they culd mak some aggrement or concord betuixt the regent and thame of the castell, whereof when they saw no appearance, departed home as they come a feild.

10 Thurisday the 10 of Maij it was proclaimed at the croce, that all that wold assist Mathew, erle of Lennox, and James, erle of Mortoun, suld depart the tovne. At ewin, about 9 horis, all inhabitantes of the tovne were charged to thare ludgenis, as oftymes everie nyght, almost heirafter. This nyght, the Regent and his cumpany come to Lynlythgow.

11 Friday, the xi of Maij, the Regent come to Leyth [with] the number of sex thousand hors men. Some pricking was vpon the croftis afore the castell, whare thare was tane tuo men of the castelis partie, notwithstanding that the castell schot fyve or sex schot.

12 Setterday, the 12 day, a drvm was sent fra Leyth to the tovne baillies, and the towne, that the portis myght be made patent to the Regent and his folkis, that he myght entere without truble. But Arthure of Meringtoun being at the port, gave answer of his awin

\* John commendator, of Arbroath, (or Aberbrothwick) afterwards Marquis of Hamilton.

heid, that he suld get no entres thair, and forbad him to come sic earandis agane. Ane vther drvme come lykwayis to the wast port, for the same effect. Jhone Sym, baillie, desyred me to schaw thir headis vnto the Regent, or his lordis, that certane of the counsall had concludit to gea to Leyth and speak the Regentis Grace, and the noble men with him to mak thare awin excuse, and schaw there humble obedience to the kingis majestie, and to the Regentis Grace, but culd not obtene licence of the lordis heir, nor be suffered to pas furth, except of Argyle and Boyd. Secundlie, that they gart the brute gea that the regentis Grace had gevin the spoile of the toun to his men of warre; and last, that the tovn was informed that this day, at 9 horis, thare come ane drvme to the port quilk desyred talking of the baillies, to whome the suddartis at the port gave ewill answer, without knowledge of the baillies. Thir heidis, I say, when I was desyred to schawe them to the Regent and his counsall, becaus I knew not of what fontane they proceidit; and lykwayis being desyred be this one man allane, I refused; yet, at his comand, I schew the same to doctor Prestoun, who promised to doe his message.

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Sonday, the threttene of Maij, 1571, Pherniherst come in with 70 speiris, or therby, and ane of his men was hurt with a schot of a hagbute, thinkand

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they had bene the Regentis men. This Sonday, Mr Craig teiched the 130 Psalme ; and, in his sermond, he compared the steat of the kirk of God in this toвне vnto the steat of the Maccabeis ; wha were oppressed sumtymes by the Assyrianis, and sumtymes by the Egiptianis, be whome the people of God then were oppressed. Also, he said, that when wicked men and wicked parteis contendis, and stryves for there pryde, ambitione, and worldly honour, the kirk is always in truble. Be which maner of speich, mony were offendit, in making the tuo parteis alyk, and how farre unlyk the comparisone is, all men may see. Also, he lamentit, in his sermond, that there was no mide man to mak ane agreement betuixt these tuo parteis ; which, gif ony of them be wreaked, this realme, said he, will come to a miserable ruyne. Bot vtheris said, happie is that comone wealthe whair-in murtheris traytoris, and blud-thristie men are pvnished ; which, gif they were, this truble wald not be. And efter, exhorted all men, be the example of the propheit David, with fervant prayer fra the deip pit, and bottome of his hart, to ryn vnto God, both for the quyetnes of his kirk, this comone wealth, and for ane agreement betuixt the tua parties.

14 Monunday, the 14 of Maij, the drvme past through

the toun, for all workmen, with spade, schule, and mattock, that wold tak wages, and they suld be weill payed ; but sic as wald not cume, suld be compellit, and get nothing ; which was true, indeid, for they were payit with schot of hagbute, and so slane, at dyvers tymes, be them without. This day the Regentis Grace, with his cumpany, come to the Canogait, and campted there to hauld the parliament, in despyte of the canone within the fredome of Edinburgh.

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The nyght preceeding, the Regentis men had planted there ordinance vpon the dow craig, besyde the fold dyke of stone : out of the whilk, they schott and dang away the men of warre in the dirtie blockhouse within the wall of Leyth wynde, whare was slane ane captane called Gybsone, wha was captane of the stiple, and another called Kirkaldie, wha before had danced vp at the cock of the stiple : and another called Corporall Busyne, a Frenche man. Also the Regentis Grace suddartis enterit in ane Lowesonis hous, at the head of Leyth wynd, narrest the neather bowe, out of the which they schot ; and out of ane vther hous foir against it ; and let none remane vpon the tuo turretis above the neather bowe ; which port, they within closed, and filled vp with muck, stanes, and tymber, be four horis in the morning, or therby. The chief workmen were Lordis Claud, Flisk, Kilwining, Arbrothok, Home, and

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Huntlie, with dyveris vtheris gentlemen with them, quha drew dovne mony of Alexander Clerkis gestis lyand on the hie geat, with thair awin hand, for fear the vther suld have enterit. The lard of Grange is becum a grit man now, whan sic men are pyoneris to him, sitting in the castell lyk a bird in the caig, and never cumis foorth, not to the toun, mekle les to the feildis. This day they set foure gabionis at the strait of the bowe which they filled with earth, for against the port, where they pat some ordinance to schut at the port whan neid were. About xi houris there enterit the tolbuith, the Lordis Huntlie, Home, and Kilwinning, with the prior of Coldingham, brother to the young lard of Lethingoun with 4 or 5. vther gentlemen, and thair fensit ane court of parliament 'in our soveranes 'name,' specifying neather kyng nor quene, and tuik documentis that they were present in the name of sic as were called to the parliament, and were foirfalted, that they were present to answer the said day, to sic thingis as war to be laid to there charge, &c. This was done in presence of the thrie scribes of the session, to wit, George Gibsone, Robert Scot, and Jhone Wallace, whome of befor they had charged vnder the paine of 5000 lb. the piece not to transport or give ony letter or letteris whatsoever without licence asked and gewin of the Captane, and that they suld

remane thame selves in warde within the towne of  
Edinburgh vnder the foirsaid paine. 1571  
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Pherniherst and his men the same day tuik a 23  
hors fra the Regentis men beand at the gres, frain-  
ing them selvis to be freindis, and causing the castell  
schut at them, as give they had bene the Regentis  
horsmen.

Captane Culan, the lord Huntlies cheif captane,  
brant this day the hors part of it, and some  
part cast dovne for covering the vther suddertis.  
This day the grit canon was brought doun out of the  
castell to the black-friar-yearde; at ewin the canon was  
cariet vp agane to the castell, whither for feare of  
thame without or no I can not tell. Bot on the morne,  
being Tuysday the 15 of Maij, scho was brought doune  
agane be the procurement of the lord Huntlie, who  
was sovertie for hir save bringing agane vpon 500 or  
600 pundis. Scho was stelled with gabionis in the  
said yard, which cost tuo or thrie poore men ther lyves  
for the drawing of hir. Scho schot this day 24 schot;  
ten whairof I saw and hard schot at Lawsonis hous  
within tuo houris speace and a half. On this day  
scho fired hir awin gabiones. Thair was slane and  
eardit this day of suddartis and work men 8 or 9;  
some sayis mea.

On Weddinsday the 16 of Maij, tuo men of thare  
awin were slane be the pieces that lay in Davidis 16

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tower heid \*, having leid faldit about a piece of iron for a bullet.

Ther was forefalted in the Canogait, whare the parliament held, the laird of Lethingtoun younger, the prior of Coldinghame, his brother, and also thare younger brother, Mr Thomas Maitland : the abbot of Kilwinning and his sone, with the bischop of St Androis sone.

Jhone Watstone going furth at the west port, being asked whois man he was, maid a mint to speak, Mr Knoxis servant but corrected him self, said he was Mr Craigis servant ; but the suddarts said, hauld you at your first maister : and so he was tane to preasone for Mr Knoxis saik, whare he lay 6 or 7 dayes, in the lord Huntlies ludgene.

This nyght at ewin come in lord Hereis, Maxuell and Lochingwar to the number of tua hundereth or xi<sup>xx</sup> hors, who ran all the geat fra they come within fyve or sex myles to the tovne, as was weill sene on there hors at there entrie. Then no small brages were made that they wold fecht them vpon the feildis, which they wald have done indeid gif they culd have caried the castell with them.

17 Thursday the 17 of Maij, the lordis Argyle and

\* A tower in the castle.



Boyd departed this toune, and wold not remane for no treatie that the lordis Hereis and vtheris could mak. The word was, that Argyle had the war will of them, becaus of thair refusall of ressonable offeris be the regentis Grace, whilkis he and the lord Boyd proponed vnto the castell. What they ware as yit I know not.

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The last Weddinsday, in the nyght, war slane of our townes men (I meane our suddartis) fyve of thame, and the canon in the black freir-yeard compellit to remove be the schutting of thame without, wha were in some houses within Pleasance.

A grit fray was this day, becaus it was thocht that some of the Regentis suddartis was enterit through a wall at the niddar bow, which, gif they had done and come forwart, in my iudgment they myght have bene maister easelie of the toun beneth the barres, for all were sleaping for the most part at this present. At efter nyne there sortit out of the toun the lordis Hereis, Lochinwar, and Ferniherst, at the wast port about 200 hors, and vi<sup>x</sup> hagbutteris of purpose to have tane the fort vpon the dow craig, and went als farre as Moutrais of the hill, hard besyde it. Bot a few men, not passing 23 or 24, that come in sight, causet them retire, and the Regentis horsmen cuming vp about be the Cannongate vpon certane of the townes men, made sum pricking, and the hagbutteris also skirmish-

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ing vpon the croftis the space of ane houre and more. At this tyme there were hurt bot few except 5 or 6, and ane suddart, wha was schot, that he died als sone as he come into the toun. Arthure of Muriatoun was rvn through with a speir; bot they durst never gea beyound their strenth, I meane the castell, which all this tyme schot verie fast both small and greit pieces; but I hard no word of ony skayth they dyd. This nyght Captane Moffet, which was hurt befor, was buried.

Certane Comissioneris sent to the castell, be the general kirk convenit in Leyth to pacifie the trubles of this countrie.

At our entrie in the castell, we past to the grit hall on the south syde, whair sone efter sir James Balfour come to us, and incontinent thereafter the lord duck, and last the captane of the castell, who desyrit my lord duck and vs also to enter within the chalmer within the said hall, whair the Lord Secretare was sitting befor his bedd in ane chyre. Me lord duck set dovne, so the captane desyred vs all instantlie to sit dovne, which we did: then the superintendent of Fyif begouth the proposition, saying: ‘ My lordis, be-  
 ‘ caus some comissioneris of the kirk are convenit pre-  
 ‘ sentlie in Leyth, wha persaving thir intestine trubles  
 ‘ in this comone wealth, thought it become thame of  
 ‘ thair dewitie to offer there labouris and travelis to the  
 ‘ end, that gif it suld pleis God, that therby the same

‘ myght be stanchd, for the which we are cum heir  
‘ to offer our travelis and labouris as said is.’ Efter  
this proposition, silence was keapet ane certane space,  
while I continewd the purpose agane on this maner.  
‘ My lordis, I think ovr comissione extendis this farre,  
‘ that seing your lordschips are willing we suld travell  
‘ as ye have declared be your wryting to our brother  
‘ heir, Mr Craig, and we are also verie willing to be-  
‘ stow our labouris. Then it restis to knowe and heir of  
‘ your lordschips what heidis or articles ye will offer  
‘ vnto vs, as ane grund whairvpon we may travell.’ To  
this answerit the Lord Secretare, ‘ Mr Jhone ye are  
‘ ower vyse, we will mak no offeris to them that are in  
‘ the Canogait; for the principalis of the nobilitie of  
‘ Scotland are heir, to whome they that are in the Cano-  
‘ gait are far inferiouris in that rank. Therfore to thame  
‘ we mynd not to mak offeris, for it becumis thame ra-  
‘ ther to mak offeris to thame that are heir; and gif  
‘ they wold come to this point, to consider how farre  
‘ they are gane astray, and desyre the noble men that  
‘ are heir to travell for thame, that sic thingis as they  
‘ have done heirtofore myght be remitted to thame, and  
‘ securitie to be made of thair lyfis, landis, gudis, and  
‘ heritages, for them, thair freindis, and posteritie; I  
‘ vnderstand thir noblemen will to that effect concurre  
‘ with them, that all securitie may be provydit for thame,  
‘ so that concord may be had amonges them all, and

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‘ vtherwayis byde them not luke from ony offeris from  
‘ vs.’ Then said I, ‘ swa my lordis it appeiris to me,  
‘ we have the les adoe, seing no grund is offerit to vs  
‘ whairvpon we may travell.’ Then said Mr Craig,  
‘ but it appeiris to me, that we have sumwhat forder to  
‘ say, that seing there is ane lauchfull authoritie esta-  
‘ blised in the persone of the King and Regent through  
‘ out this realme, which aucht to be obeyed be all the  
‘ subiectis therof, and therefore our dewitie is, as comis-  
‘ sioneris and memberis of the kirk, to admonis everie  
‘ ane of your lordschips to obey the same.’ Then said  
the secretare, ‘ I will schaw you the discours of the  
‘ proceidingis heirof from the beginning. When we en-  
‘ terprysit, the tacking of the quene on Carbarrie hill,  
‘ there was then tuo cheif occasiounes that moved vs,  
‘ the one was to punis the kingis murther, cheiflie in  
‘ my lord Bothwell; the vther was, that the vnhappie  
‘ mariage contracted betuixt the quene and him myght  
‘ have bene dissolved. And to the end, to sequesterate  
‘ hir bodie from him scho was put into Lochlewin: and  
‘ that thir war the cheif causes, the proclamatiounes made  
‘ at that tyme, and the wrytingis send to vther cuntries  
‘ planelie declairis, sua that then we meanit nathing of  
‘ the kingis authoritie, nor to put the quene out of hir  
‘ awin crowne; as I my self (said he), that same nyght  
‘ the quene was brought to Edinburgh, I made the offer  
‘ to hir, gif sche wold abandon my lord Bothwell, scho

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‘ suld have as thankfull obedience as ever scho had sen  
‘ scho come in Scotland. Bot no wayis wald scho con-  
‘ sent to leive my lord Bothwell, and sua scho was put  
‘ into Lochlewin, at the which tyme we hopit, that all  
‘ men suld have assisted to the revenge of the kingis  
‘ murther, but never ane came mea to vs, nor we were  
‘ at Carbarrie hill : but be the contrare, the lord Hunt-  
‘ lie, and many vtheris raise vp against vs, sua that they  
‘ were gritter partie then we : sua that then we finding  
‘ no vther way to preserve vs from inconvenientis, we  
‘ devysit to mak the clock of some new authoritie, even  
‘ as gif we were passing ower at Kinghorne, and the  
‘ boit took fyre, ye wald loupe in the sea, to flie the  
‘ fyre : and finding your self able to drovne, ye wald  
‘ preis agane to the boit. Ewin so the setting vp of  
‘ the kingis authoritie was but ane fetchie or schift to  
‘ save vs from great inconvenientis ; not that ever we  
‘ meanit that the same suld stand or continew, as ever  
‘ thereafter I schew to my lord regent, willing him to  
‘ compose and agrie the mater. And for my awin part,  
‘ planelie I confess, that I did verie ewill and vngodlie  
‘ in the vpsetting of the kingis authoritie ; for he can  
‘ never be iustlie king sa long as his mother lives : and  
‘ that which I speik, the whole noble men within this  
‘ toune and vtheris heir present, I am assured will af-  
‘ firme the same.’ At this speiking, my lord duck, Sir  
James Balfoure, and the captane, confessit with mutual

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consentis, nodding with there heidis, and with leath  
speiking, the premises to be of the treuth. Then said  
the secretare to Sir James Balfoure, ‘ My lord Pre-  
‘ sident, you can tell thir thingis, als weill as ony man  
‘ can.’ ‘ Then said Sir James, “ In deid, my lord, I  
‘ was privie of thir thingis and knew them weill, and  
‘ vnderstandis the verie grundis of thir proceidingis  
‘ to have bene as your lordschip hes spocken.’ Then  
said I to the secretare, ‘ My lord, I can not tell what  
‘ fetches or scheftis your lordschip hes vsit in thir  
‘ proceadingis; but heirvnto lat your awin conscience  
‘ accuse your self, before your God, *conscientiam ves-*  
‘ *tram oneramus.* Bot ane thing weill I wot, honest  
‘ men of simple conscience, and vpryght dealing,  
‘ meanit nothing of thir your shiftis and fetches, but  
‘ proceidit vpon ane honest and constant ground,  
‘ having the glorie of God before there eyes, and  
‘ the punishment of horrible crymes. Neather said  
‘ I, my lord, that godlie men of vpryght dealing hes  
‘ vsed sic schiftis or fetches as thir of youris are,  
‘ namelie, in sic notable and weghtie materis. But  
‘ ane thing, my lord, I persave, that me think God  
‘ hes beguyled you, that howbeit he hes vsit you and  
‘ your schiftis as ane instrument to set vp the kingis  
‘ authoritie, yit it appeiris not that he will set it down  
‘ agane at your pleasour.’ Then said the secretare,  
‘ how know ye that, are ye of Godis counsall? *quis*

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*fuit consiliarius eius?* Ye sall see the contrare within few dayis, and then we will see what obedience ye will give. ‘Then,’ said I, ‘vnto that tyme, my lord, ‘our argument is gude, and ye and vtheris aught ‘to give the king obedience.’ Then said the superintendent of Fyfe, ‘your argument, my lord, appeiris ‘verie gude, that the authoritie, anes establised be ‘order, with the consent of the thrie esteatis of the ‘realme, aught, and suld be obeyed, ay, and whill the ‘same be set doun agane be the lyk power and order.’ Then said my lord Secretare, ‘I mervell that ye will ‘say so, for I remember I hard Mr Willockis, Mr ‘Jhone Row, and the rest of you, preich concerning ‘the papistrie; that albeit, the same was establised be ‘long continewance and authoritie of princes, yet suld ‘the samin be reiected without order, and as it come in ‘over the dyke, so suld it be schot over the dyke agane, and not to tarie whill the lyk order suld be ‘used in setting dovne of it, as was vsit in the establishing of it. Ewen so I say of the kingis authoritie, that ‘we neid not to tarie whill the same be set dovne be ‘the self same order that it was erectit, for that perchance myght be to long. ‘Then,’ said I, ‘in this ‘your argument, my lord, I persave ane peralogisme, ‘and that be resson ther is a grit difference and ane ‘dissimilitude betuixt the religione and materis of ‘policie; for as concerning the religione, howsoever

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‘ a wicked religione enteris in, so sone as the same  
‘ is knowin to be wicked, how long continewance, or  
‘ whatsoever authoritie it hes had, it ought. inconti-  
‘ nent to be reiected, and the preachoris dewitie is to  
‘ admonis the people therof, commanding thame to  
‘ reiect it and embrace the treuth ; and that becaus  
‘ ane wicked religione tendis directlie to the disho-  
‘ nour of the name of God, which on no wayis aucht  
‘ to be sufferit, yea, not ane hour. Bot vtherwayis  
‘ it is in the policie, and cheiflie in the establised au-  
‘ thoritie of kingis and princes ; for howsoever the  
‘ authoritie be anes establised, I presuppone by vio-  
‘ lence or tyranny.’ Heir the Secretare interrupted  
me, and said, ‘ Mr Jhone, I am glad to heir that con-  
‘ fessione out of your mouth.’ ‘ My lord,’ said I,  
‘ gifand and not granted that sa wer, likwayis I vnder-  
‘ stand ane lauchfull grund in the kingis authoritie,  
‘ and the authoritie anes establised aught to be obeyed,  
‘ neather is it against conscience so to doe. Bot rather  
‘ standis weill with gud conscience, as Paull testifieth  
‘ wrayting to the Romanis, comandng thame to obey  
‘ there emprioris authoritie then establised amonges  
‘ thame, and that for conscience cause (sayis he) ; yit  
‘ gif ye sall consider the grund, how the emprioris of  
‘ Rome enterit to thair authoritie, I think the grund  
‘ therof was rather violence and tyranny, nor ony law-  
‘ full establiment be the lawis of ressone : yit notwith-



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‘ standing the Apostle comandis the same to be obey-  
‘ ed, which he wald never have done concerning the obe-  
‘ dience to ane wicked religion. And gif the argument  
‘ be gud, that we sall obey the establissed authoritie,  
‘ howbeit it enterit in be violence and tyranny : then  
‘ mekle rather aught we to obey the authoritie establis-  
‘ sed, the grund whair of is lauchfull, ressonable, and  
‘ godlie ; and gif we suld enter on discourse, I can not  
‘ tell how mony authoriteis are establissed vpon ane  
‘ lawfull ground’ Heir, as I vnderstand, we kepit si-  
lence a certane space, and thereafter Mr James Balfour  
said to me, ‘ I mervell of you, that in your kirk ye have  
‘ made ane act, decerning the kingis authoritie lauch-  
‘ full, and so to be obeyed.’ ‘ My lord,’ said I,  
‘ Have ye red that act.’ Nay,’ said he. ‘ In deid,’  
said I, ‘ so it appeiris, for we have made no act de-  
‘ cerning any authoritie lawfull. But we have con-  
‘ cludit, that the kingis authoritie establissed suld be  
‘ obeyit ; and all the subiectis to be admonised be  
‘ his obedience, and to be prayit for in all publict  
‘ sermonis ; and what fault find ye my lord with this ?’  
‘ I pray you tell me, how knowe ye that the kingis  
‘ authoritie is establissed ?’ I know, my lord,’ said  
I, ‘ by tuo argumentis : the first, becaus it is establissed  
‘ by the thrie esteatis publictlie in parliament : Secund-  
‘ lie, becaus it hes resavit vniversall obedience within  
‘ this realme, without erecting ony vther face of authori-

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‘ tie in the contrair.’ ‘ But yit,’ said he, ‘ how know ye  
 ‘ that it is establissed trulie?’ ‘ My lord,’ said I, ‘ I can  
 ‘ weill answer to that argument, for I was present in  
 ‘ parliament when I both hard and saw the same con-  
 ‘ cludit, gif it be true that ye are there standing, or that  
 ‘ your litle dog is lying vpon the Secretaris lap (for ane  
 ‘ litle messane was lyand vpon his knee,) ewin so is it  
 ‘ true that I have said.’ Then Mr James said, ‘ That  
 ‘ parliament was no lauchfull parliament, yea, it is null  
 ‘ in the self.’ ‘ My lord,’ said I, ‘ is that proces of nulli-  
 ‘ tie deduced and concludit be ony sic order as the par-  
 ‘ liament was hauldin?’ that neidis not, sayis he, be-  
 ‘ caus it is null in the self.’ ‘ Truelie my lord,’ said I,  
 ‘ I lerned ane reule in the law, *Sententia facit ius in-*  
 ‘ *ter partes donec retractetur.*’ Then said the lord Se-  
 ‘ cretare, ‘ That parliament is null for mony causes-  
 ‘ and can not be iudged ane lawfull parliament.’ Then  
 said I, ‘ My lord gif ony parliament was haldin in  
 ‘ Scotland this 700 yeiris, I doubt not but that was ane  
 ‘ lauchfull parliament, both in substance and ceremo-  
 ‘ neis, and what nullitie ye can alledge, I doubt not  
 ‘ but the same may be alledged against ony parliament  
 ‘ in Scotland thir 700 yeiris agoe. Men may know  
 ‘ what the nullitie of this parliament tendis to, seing  
 ‘ our religione was heirin establissed.’ And heir we  
 ‘ were appearing to fall out in some vther termes de-  
 ‘ voyding from the purpose. Therefore the Secretare

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‘ took up the mater agane, and said to vs, ‘ See ye not  
‘ what thir men that are in the Canogait pretendis :  
‘ not elis I will warrand you, but to rug and reive vther  
‘ menis leivingis, and to inrich them selvis with vther  
‘ geir : for how mony of thame hes not vther menis  
‘ benefices and leivingis, and yit can not be satisfied.’  
‘ Then answerit Mr Craig, ‘ That sic as be spokken of  
‘ them that be yonder, mekle wors is spokken of them  
‘ that are heir. ‘ And what is that, Mr Craig ?’ said he ;  
‘ My lord, it is planelie spokken that these that are heir  
‘ travelis onlie in there proceadingis to clock crewell  
‘ murthereris, and that the consciences of some of you  
‘ are so prickit with the same, that ye will never suffer  
‘ the nobilitie to agrie.’ ‘ Yit Mr Craig,’ said he, ‘ sa  
‘ long as I was with thame, they never accused me of  
‘ the kingis murther ; and the last yeir, when they gave  
‘ me all thair hand writes purging me therof, yea to be  
‘ schort with you, so long as I was a piller to menteane  
‘ thair iniust authoritie, they wold never put at me as  
‘ they doe. In the treatie that is begoud in England,  
‘ that is ane of the cheif articles that the kingis and re-  
‘ gentis murthereris sal be punishit to the rigour in all  
‘ persones that sal be found guiltie thereof ; and our  
‘ quene hes also oblissed her self to the quene of Eng-  
‘ land, vnder the paine of the tinsall of hir ryght, that  
‘ scho pretendis to the crown of England, that thea  
‘ murthereris sal be punishit in all that sal be found

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‘ guiltie thereof.’ Then said Mr Craig, ‘ My lord,  
‘ how can thir tuo stand, that the quene being set vp  
‘ in authoritie, wha is guiltie of the murther of the king,  
‘ sal punis the murther in any vtheris. My lord, said  
‘ I, I hard your lordschip tell ane teale, that thare was  
‘ ane appointment vpon a tyme betuixt the kingis of  
‘ England and Spainyie, and when matteris were con-  
‘ cludit, ane mirrie man said to the king of England,  
‘ Sir, who sall be catione for the king of Spainyie, ewin  
‘ so I say, my lord, wha sal be catione for our quene  
‘ in that behalf.’ ‘ Mr Jhone,’ sayis he, ‘ the quene of  
‘ Scotland will not tyne hir ryght that scho pretendis to  
‘ the croune of England, for ony favour scho beiris to  
‘ ony man in Scotland :’ ‘ But this is ane marvelous  
‘ thing,’ sayis Mr Craig, ‘ that albeit my lord duck,  
‘ heir, or sum vther, acknowledges not the kingis autho-  
‘ ritie : yit, my lord, said he, ye, ye, and ye, poynting  
‘ to the Secretare, Sir James, and the captane, will not  
‘ deny the kingis authoritie, seeing ye have professit  
‘ the same, and were the cheif instrumentis of erecting  
‘ of the same.’ Then said the Secretare, that the kingis  
‘ authoritie was set up in respect of the quenis dimis-  
‘ sione, of the which I think I was als privie and tra-  
‘ vellit, alsmekle as ony in the Cannogait, as they can  
‘ beir me record there selvis ; yea, and farther with-  
‘ out me they had neather the knowledge, wisdome,  
‘ nor moyen to performe the same ; and think ye of

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‘ your conscience, that that dimissione was maid will-  
‘ inglie, seeing the quene was hauldin in captivitie.  
‘ Howbeit, my lord Lyndsay and Ruthwen, so depon-  
‘ ed publictly, and for verifcatione heirof my lord  
‘ Lyndsay being desyred be my lord Regent, to there-  
‘ efter earnestly to pass in England with him, he refuis-  
‘ ed altogether, whidder for laik of expenses or vther-  
‘ wayis I can not tell. Bot at lenth, when my lord  
‘ Regent preissed him so earnestly, being in ane hous  
‘ in Leyth, before ane honorable cumpany that he be-  
‘ haved to goe to England, then my lord Lyndsay swore  
‘ ane grit oath, and said, my lord, and ye caus me to  
‘ goe to England with you, I will spill the whole mater,  
‘ for, and they accuse me, of my conscience I cannot  
‘ but confess the treuth.’ Then said I, ‘ truely, my lord  
‘ this appeiris to me ane of your awin fetches, that my  
‘ lord Lyndsay vsed at that tyme; for seing he had  
‘ not will of the iournay, he wald have schifted the  
‘ mater be some colorat meinis; and in this fetch, my  
‘ lord, he may appeir to be ane of his disciples: how-  
‘ beit, he meinit not sua indeid.’ Heir we began to  
mow, and as it were everie ane to lauch vpon ane  
vther, and so raise. Then Mr Andro Hay past to the  
captane and spak with him apart, and thereafter I spak  
with the captane. Whan we were reddie to cum our  
way, the Secretare cryes vpon me, ‘ Mr Jhone, think ye  
‘ that my lord of Lennox, being ane Englisman sworne,

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‘ can be lauchfull Regent to this realme ?’ ‘ My lord,’  
said I, ‘ whidder he be ane Englisman sworne or not,  
‘ I can not tell, for that standis *in facto*, but I vnder-  
‘ standis he is ane native borne Scottisman.’ ‘ Bot I  
‘ can tell you,’ said he, ‘ I knaw he is ane Englisman  
‘ sworne.’ Bot presupposing, said I, that sua were,  
‘ what impediment is that whidder he be an Englisman,  
‘ Frenchman, Spanyard, or Italian, gif he be lauchfull  
‘ tutor be the law, and hes the ryght therto ; why may  
‘ he not be lauchfull regent induring the tyme of the  
‘ tuturie ? for was not the duck of Abany ane French-  
‘ man borne, yit becaus he was lauchfull tutor to our  
‘ king, he bure the regiment, induring his minoritie,  
‘ and how could he iustlie be ony lettis be secludit  
‘ therfra.’ ‘ Mr Jhone,’ sayis he, ‘ there is a difference  
‘ betuixt the tua.’ ‘ And what is that,’ said I, ‘ my lord ?  
‘ We are ioyned,’ said he, ‘ in leig and amietie with  
‘ France, but England is our auld enemeis.’ ‘ My lord,  
‘ said I, ‘ that argument now appeiris nothing, for we  
‘ have peace and amitie with England presentlie as we  
‘ have with France.’ And this we took our leive and  
come our way \*.

Thair was in the watche about this tyme sum co-

\* Some singular circumstances appear in this conversation, which merit particular consideration. It is not evident who is the reporter of it.

moning betuixt the lord Hereis and the tuo captanes of the Regentis men, Crawford and Home. 1571  
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Fryday the xviii of Maij, 1571, the lord of Morton and the lord Hereis spak together be the meanis of the former comoning. A litle abstinence there was during the said comoning for certane houris. 18

Setterday the 19 of Maij, all the gentlemen and horsmen for the most part went out at the wast port, with a 120 hagbutteris or mea, of purpose to have drawin the Regentis folk fra the Canogait that some myght gea out there to doe sum mischeife; for the which caus, Captane Hakkarstoun went out at a duire, besydes the quowgait port, and 16 with him, and come to the trinche at the niddar bow, at the heid of the Canogait, whare he said at his incuming, he had slane sex or sewin; but afterwardis I hard say, thare was not ane suddart slaine, but onlie ane workman hurt, or els ane gudyeat who was doing the office of nature, his hois dovne in the said trinche. Yit the said Haggerstoune lost one of the best that he brought with him, and him self tuyse or thrise schot in his corslat of prufe, which savit his lyfe. 19

This nyght the Regent and his cumpany reteired fra the Canogait to Leyth at after supper, bot the captane of the castell gave thame the convoy of a doosone of canons, which did no harme that I hard of.

The weik preceeding, there was neather preaching

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nor prayer, neather was there ony sound of bell hard in all the toun for that tyme, except the ringing of the canones, whairof there were of canone, and canone feird, myen and battar, 500 schot at leist, besydes small brassen pieces, slanges of iron, and vtheris mea pieces that were tane fra the toun.

20

Sonday the 20 of Maij, 1571, Lord Claud and Pherniherst went out betuixt thrie and four in the morning, with the most part both of the horsemen and footmen, onlie, as I beleive, to draw the Regentis folk vpon the schot of the castle. About ten houris, all both on hors and fute went furth, becaus the Regent was going from Leyth. Thair was sum schotting or skyrmishing about the water of Leyth with the futmen, the water being betuixt both. After that the lord of Mortoun had put the Regentis Grace a gaitward purposed to have gone to Dalkeyth; bot seing thame of this toun as farre furth as Merchinstone vpon the borrow moore, drew neir hard in be Braid. Bot a commandement come out of the castell with expeditione, that they suld not pass the boundis of there guard, to wit the canone. At this tyme, be the occasione of a word speaking, the lord Hereis and his Annandeale men lyghted on fute, and lead there hors to the toвне, in takin they wold not flie. Bot I hard say, my lord of Mortoun and his cumpanye were almost past Braidis craigis homewart to Dalkeyth be-



fore a hors come in the tovne. The men of this tovne I numbered as they come in agane, who were 400 horsmen, and about a 300 futemen, all hagbut-teris except a 30 or therby of pick men.

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Monunday the 21 of Maij, the men of weir of this toune went to Leyth, and brought about a 40 long ledderis, which was left thair be the Regent or elis the lord of Mortoun. Also they tuke out of Cuthbert Fergusones out of the Canogait 3 or 4 tvn of wyne; whither it was his awin or the Regentis, whare he ludged, I know not. Lykwayis the pockis of wooll and packis of skynis which the Regentis folkis brocht fra Leyth to the Canogait for defence of the schutting they tuke them for a butie.

21

Tuysday the 22 of Maij, the lord Hereis, Maxwell, and Lochinwere departit this day, and Pherniherst departit this nyght about x houris, whois men for the most part of them when they departed, left thare lawingis, stable fie, and hors corne vnpayit, for making there hostes believe they went to the preiching.

22

Weddinsday the 23 of Maij, the lord Claud, with the rest of horsmen and futemen of Hamiltonis (except the Duck, Kylwinning and a few with thame that remaned :) the rest I say departed towardis Hamiltoun: the purpose was suspected to have bene for Glasgow, which was the samyn day betrayed be thrie brether of the Cochneche, who had bene tane at Paisley, and

23

1571 were there committed presonaris, being at frie libertie,  
May hath seducit ane certane of the hous to thame, put  
out or elis band thrie or foure within that knew no-  
thing of the interprise, and thinking to have all at  
there willis, schot a piece or tua vpon the hous heid  
for a warning vnto vtheris of thair awin. But the  
tovne hearing the schot, suspected, and incontinent  
with the lard of Minto (who hes the castle in keping)  
clapis about the hous, and pat sum hagbutteris in  
the stiple, and so letherit it, and gat it agane with the  
loss of tuo men, and dyveris vtheris hurt. It was re-  
ported, that the elder brother of Cochnoke suld have  
mareit Mintois dochter, becaus they were vnder com-  
oning heirof. Within a schort time efter the getting  
agane of the castell, lord Abirbrothe the duckis sone  
was cumand to the castell, wha had come forwart had  
not ane woman going out of the toun tauld him what  
was done, and so he escaped.

25 Fryday the 25 of Maij a doosane of suddartis come  
to Braid at supper tyme, and spoyled the myllaris  
hous (the miller beand at supper with the lard); and  
when they saw the miller cuming in and staying them  
fra spoyling his hous, tuik him and brought him to  
the yeat of Braid, and gave the lard iniurious wordis,  
bidding him come out to Captane Melving, or elis  
they suld burne the hous about his luggis. The lard  
being a quyet man, bad thame depart, saying that he

had nothing to doe with thame, and gif Captane Melving wald have had him, he had not sent sic messingeris as they were. They still continewing in thair iniurious wordis, and misvsing the lairdis miller befor his eyes, the lard went foorth with a tuo handit sword (the rest of his be occasione hinderet, followeth as they myght) the suddartis, I say for the most part of thame discharges thair hagbutteris at the laird, but be Godis providence he escaped their furie, and straik ane of them breadlinigis with his sword to the eird, wha cryed that he wald be tane. Vther tuo of thame having there pieces vndischarged (in ane of the which there was thrie bullettis), and seing ane of thair marrowes dvng to the grund, they discharge bayth at the laird; yit be Godis eternall providence he was so preservit that he gat no hurt, nor nane of his, albeit, they were all but armour; bot the skeath fell vpon thameselvis, for they slew thair awin man that had renderit him self to the laird; vther thrie also was tane, before whom this man confessit that his awin marrowes slew him, for the lardis cumpany never schot a schot, and so the suddartis when they had discharged thair pieces fled to the toun, and made report that the laird of Braid had a cumpany of men of weir waiting thame. So the alarvme struk, and all come furth to the Querrel holes, but hearing the treuth,

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May were stayed be the lard of Merchinston \*, wha schaw  
captane. Melving that there were vther men cuming  
from Dalkeyth for the lardis releif, as that they did  
with speid.

This Fryday at ix houris or thairby, Mr Drurier,  
the merschell of Berwick come to Dalkeyth, and on  
the morne come to this toun, whare he spak with the  
captane and the rest of the lordis that were in the  
castle.

27 On Sondag the 27 day he rode to Stirveling to the  
Regent, and come agane vpon Tuysday the 29. day,  
and supped in the castell : of his comissione, and talk-  
ing with the captane I refere it to better knowledge.  
Thare was a word that ane Englis suddart suld have  
schot the Merchell as he come into the castell, whair-  
at he was gritlie offendit. The captane of the castle  
come dovne with him at efter supper, who talkit  
proudlie ilkane to vther, so that they were hard vpon  
the hie streit. Whidder it was for dissatisfactione or  
not, God will declare. It was reported, that the Mer-  
chall gat the Englisman with him to Berwick that  
suld have schot him, with ane vther Englisman and  
Scotsman for witnes.

30 Weddinsday the penult of Majj, Captane Culan

\* Probably Archibald Napier, father of the famous mathema-  
tician.

tuke out all the scheip that was in the park, thinking they had bene Mr James M'Gilis, but were puire menis of the toune. 1571  
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Thurisdai the last of Maij, lord Claud come agane with his horsmen and futemen, about a vi or vii<sup>xx</sup> hors to Edinburgh, and brought with him the lord Semple. Captane Melving and his band went out this nyght about the gallous vpon the borrow moore, about x houris. But they come in agane about midnyght, and brint not Dalkeyth as it was thought at there foorth going. The lyk they did the nyght following. 31

Setterday the secund of June, 1571, the whole cumpanies come furth out of the toun about 7 houris in the morning, to the number 600 men, hors and fute, and went towardis Dalkeyth within half a myle or therby, having with them tuo carted brazen pieces or faacones, and albeit they of Dalkeyth were not so mony, pat the townes men backward to the borrow muir, and dang thame of thrie or four places which they tuik for defence, and tuke captane Haggerstoun with 8 or 9 suddartis with him, and fowre or fyve horsmen. And the castle men being on Craigmiller hill Captane Melving dealing a barrell of powder to his suddartis, the poudre taking in fyre, and burnes about a xvi of the suddartis, of whome there dies tuo at the same instant, and Captane Melving having a June  
2

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corslat upon him, was blowen vp from the earth a gude space, and after was broght into the toun without hope of lyfe.

In the mean tyme, a certane of my lord of Morton's souldarties persaving the powder to blowe vp, come moir francklie forwart, and the vtheris be ressonne of that los reteiris the faster to the towne, who being followed with a thriescoir of suddarties, the space of half a myle or mair. But the castell men loking behind them, and seing them chassed with so few futemen, and about half a doosone horsmen, there horsmen being in number of vi<sup>xx</sup> or therby, cuttis off my lord of Morton's suddarties, and tackis of them to the number of 28, a little beyond the gallous, at the Ladie brig end, whare Adam Wachop was slane. Tua houris before this, was Carmichell dvng fra his hors, and relevit be Robert Hepburne, who was schot throw the thigh, and Carmichell through the arme. My lord of Mortoun was bot his awin houshold men, to the number of a 40 hors, and the day before there was sent away iii<sup>xx</sup> suddarties and sum horsmen with money to send to Dundee, whilk maid the men of this toun to interpryse this iornay, whair of they rased them nothing. There was na slaughter except 3 of my lord Mortoun's syde: 2 or 3 on the vther syde, besyde the thing was done be the powder. God be sic meanis feghtes for his awin to the destructione of

thair enemeis, albeit the wickit, whais hartis are hardened, attribute Godis workis against thame selvis vnto blind fortune. This skyrmis conteanewed fra 7 houris that thei went foorth till they come in at 5 houris at ewin.

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Tuysday the 5 of June, 1571, Captane Culan warned sic as dwelt about the heid of Leyth wynd, and St Marie wynd, to tak dovne ther forestairis and demolis the tymber work therof, becaus the Regentis sudder-tis schot in vpon the toun in thea places. This same day they tuik sum wyne out of Leyth, and sum beir.

5

Weddinsday the 6 of Junij, Captane Melving departit this lyfe about mydnight preceding, who continewallie raved fra the first nyght that he come in till his departing, having a fever. Some alledged that he was als ewill hurt with his fall that he gat when he was blowen vp with the poulder, as he was with the burning. He was bureid about foure houris after nyne, being convoyed with a grit solempnitie not onlie of weir men but also be the lordis Duck, Huntlie, Home, Claud, Kilwinning. The captane made ane orisone to captane Melvingis band within the blockhous of the castle, lamenting the death of sic ane captane as they had, whome albeit they want, yit they suld not laik a sufficient captane, and that he wald be there captane him self, and that none of thame suld want so long as he had a furre heretage in Scotland: and

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therefore desyrit them to be trew to the king [quene] and him, in defense of that hous, and in resisting of our auld enemies, gif they wald persewe the same. What the purpose is of the lordis within this toun, I know not, neather will I have a doe with thame. But this is my onlie butt, to keip this hous as said is, and therefore desyris you to be leill and trew.

Thurisdai the 7 of June, some suddertis of the Hamiltonis going to spoile ane tailyeoris hous, called James Nicoll, ane honest and godlie man, being com-pleaned to the captane; the captane being verie comoved thereat, bad the toun gae to there armes, and he wold assist them. Bot the mater being sone meased, the toun stayed.

- 8 Fryday the 8 of Junii, captane Culan was appointted to the nidderbow. This day they began to ranforce the hous about the same. This nyght the bischop of Galloway \*, or Athins, come into this conuentione, which was appointted to this day; the lord Hereis, Maxuell, and Lochinwar come this same nyght also, being all not passing 31 hors in cumpany: whairat the captane and vtheris was not content. The lord

\* Alexander Gordon, bishop of Galloway, second son of John lord Gordon, who died before his father Alexander, third earl of Huntly. Soon afterwards, he appears to have secretly corresponded with the earl of Shrewsbury, to whose custody Queen Mary was entrusted.



Hereis and Lochinwar spak with Mortoun in there by cuming. Therefore they are come as men that wold treat a concord and agreance.

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The bischope of Gallowayis preiching in the pulpet of Edinburgh, vpon Sonday the 17 day of June, 1571 : the day after the defeat was gewin them be me lord of Mortoun ; transported word be word, be the most copious auditoure being then present for the tyme\*.

“ Gude people, my text is this, of fayth, love, and charitie, writtene in the 13 to the Corinthians : for of fayth proceidis love, and of love charitie, which are the wingis to houpe, whairby all Christiane men suld enter in the kingdome of heawin, whare I pray God we myght all goe ; and this for the present.

Now brethren, may I not speir at you, in what place of this pure realme is fayth, houpe, and charitie resett, and gif they be auctorisid amonges the thrie esteatis ; na, na, brether, na ! Is fayth or love amonges our nobilitie ? Why then, how mony lordis hes observit thair hand writtis and there seales, or kepit thair promiseis, owther vpon thair side or ouris ; yea few or nane, but I will speak newtrallie, for it is my part, seing my brotheris sone and I am thriddis of kin to the lord of Mortoun. Is not the regent siclyke, and we neir of kin : but allace, how mony of vs keipis

\* This is either misplaced, or there is some inaccuracy in the date.

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fayth, and love one to ane vther. Why then •lat vs goe to the secund estate. Hes the spiritualitie observit the preceptis of ecclesiastical order, conforme to thair first constitutione : or hes not our ministeris not alterit from the last ordoure set out efter the reformatione of the kirk. Or then the thrid estate. Is thair fayth and love amonges your burgesses, in buying and selling of there wayres, or borrowing or lending ane with ane vther : yea gif I wald degres I doubt not but fayth and love, in machling in wode of hard heidis, whair mony of your merchantis leivis thaire fayth. But allace, brethren, the onlie caus of this is particularitie, which have bene the grittest defectione that hes caused this poore countrie to decline fra thair soverane, the quenis majestie, our onlie maistres, wha now remanes in England, bot not presoner, as they have made you to beleive : for I will assure you, and I may say it sen I have sene it, being thair comissioner for hir lordis of hir factione : whairfoir I wald wis you not to be abused, for this I will tak vpon my conscience, yea, and vpon my honor, that scho is better treated, better nurisit, yea revered and authorised more in England on ane day nor scho was in Scotland in ane yeir : and licentiat to haucke and hvnt with sindrie vther pastymes as pleases hir, albeit our ministeris have altogether forget hir, and not willing to pray for hir. But I wald wis you, inhabitantes of Edinburgh,

to send for your ministeris, and caus them pray for the quene, pray for thair lauchfull magistrates whatsoever, for this I may say, scho is as lauchfull, sen hir father was our native king, and hir mother lykwayis ane honorable princes, and scho borne in the lawfull bedd. This for the prufe of my argument, that scho aught to be prayit for. And further, all synneris aught to be prayed for: gif we suld not pray for synneris, for whome suld we pray, seing that God come not to call the ryghteous, but synneris to repentance. Sanct David was a synner, and so was scho: Sanct David was an adulterer, and so is scho; Sanct David committed murther in slaying Vrias for his wyfe, and so did scho: bot what is this to the mater: the more wicked that scho be, hir subiectis suld pray for hir, to bring hir to the spreit of repentance; for Judas was ane synner, and gif he had bene prayed for, he had not diet in dispair; whairfore, I pray all faythfull subiectis to pray for thair lauchfull magistrate, gif it be the quene. It is the quene, as I doubt not; but ye may weill consider, that na inferiour subiect hes power to deprive or depose their lauchfull magistrate, hie or scho whatsoever, albeit they comitt whoredome, murther, incest, or ony vther cryme, being anes be God iust and lauchfull prince or princes, to ring above you, not chosen as the imperiall magistratis are. Yea, and farther, was scho ever excomuni-

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cat be the order of our kirk, gif sa be, iust causes had we not to pray for hir; and albeit scho were, we aught to pray for hir and all vther synneris, to bring them to the spreit of repentance. Bot mony of our ministeris are to ceremoneus at this present; for I remember my self at the begynning of our religione, when I teiched eather in this pulpet, or in the pulpet heir besydes, when we wald have bene glaid to had the mess heir, and the preiching there; and brether, when I stode with the stole about my neck, how mony bischopis bead or bare the burding on his back then bot I. Bot now our ministeris are growne so vantone and ceremonious, that they will not pray for there lauchfull heretrix, wha hes permitted them sic libertie of conscience, that they may vse what religione they pleis. And gif we pray not for synneris, whome for then? sen the iust hes no neid of amendement, or gif we be not synneris, wha may say he will cast the first stone at the woman beand taken in adulterie. Is it my lord of Mortoun vpon thair syde? Is it my lord Argyle vpon our syde? or is it we ministeris? Nay, brether, nay, for I confess my self, ye this foule carkes of myne to be the most vyle carion, and altogether gewin to the lustis of the flesch, yea, and I am not eschamit to say the grittest trumper in all Europe, vntill sic tyme as it pleasit God to call upon me, and mak me one of his chosen wesshelis, in whome he hes

poured the spreit of his Evangle, and as candles are lyghted and set vpon heich places, so sall I schaw the giftis that God hes gewin me amonges you. God illuminat your hartis to receave the same. For gif Manasses had not bene prayed for, he had not bene brought to the spreit of repentance. Ane word or tua and so I will beteich you to the merceis of God. Brether, at afternone I will be occupeit with some vther business : but vpon Weddinsday and Fryday, I sall tak some panes to opin the rest of this text ; and becaus I know my self not so worthie as they that have occupiet this place befor, I beseich you brethren, send for your ministeris, and I will take the panes with them to trawell, to sie gif we can pacifie the insatiable myndis of our brether, who gois about lyk lyonis, to sucke out the blude of there brether. And sen God blist the peace mackeris, lat vs sie gif we can be the instrumentis to bring the nobilitie to concord with fayth, houpe, and cheritie. But allace, whare was cheritie yesterday amonges vs, yea not whair it suld be conforme to the wordis of my text. And so I beteich you to the mercie of God."

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Setterday the 9 day, ane of the prisoneris of Dalkeyth being hurt vpon the feildis, died. Balcleuch and Pherniherst come in after midnyght following.

Sonday the 10 of June, the duck, Huntlie, the bischope Athenis, Claud, etc. were at sermond.

9

10

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Duck and Huntlie, with Claud, baid the prayer, which befor they did not.

11

Monday the 11 day of June, 1571, the lord Home, Balcleuch, Pherniherst, raid furth, and made sum pricking with them of Dalkeyth. Vpon this day the larde of Grange, captane of the castell of Edinburgh, sent up this letter to Dalkeyth, as followes :

“ Whairas it is cum to my earis, that sum wicked personis, of very malice bred in thair vngodlie brestis, hes tacken libertie to vtter the venome of thair poysonet hartis, to the preiudice of my honour, sa far as lyis in thair slanderous tovngeis, haifand be lettres, proclamationes, brutes, and reportes, gewin out to the people fals and vntrue taillis of me, calling me ane traytour, and murtherer, and assistare of murthereris, and speciallie allower of the slaughter of the erle of Murray, leat regent of gude memorie, to whome it is notoure what gude affectione I bare, and for whome, during his life, I hasardit all that I had in the world, and dyvers tymes my persone in place whare the authouris of sic calumpneis durst not to have schawin there faces. Gif I knew who war the authouris, or sawaris of sic vile bruttes, I wald answir them moir particularlie ; and gif ony dar cum furth and profes himself to have devysit, written, or spokken the samin, I sall answir him sa directlie, that I trust he will have occasione to advance him self nothing of his inter-

prise. Alwayis for defence of my honour, which I will menteane against all deidlie: this I say without exceptione of ony persone or estait whatsumever, he be, that hes by wryting, speich, or vtherwayis vsed sic vnhonest langaig of me as before is specifeit, or of the lyk substance, of what esteat, degrie, or qualitie whatsumever he be, he hes vnhonestlie, falslie, and mischantlie lyed in his throat. From Edinburgh castell, the xi of June, 1571."

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(Sic subscribitur.)

Wm. Kircaldie.

*Answer to this letter.* " Forsamekle as thou be ane cartall laitlie set furth, boastis the answir to ony, without ony exceptione of persones, esteat, or degrie, and most lyke that thou meanis to mak the said answir but in wordis, saying they lie, that rumoris the with treassone. Albeit, that this cartall is so proud, that it may seme to cum of a breast full both of arrogance and treassone, and compairis thy self to the cheif nobilitie of Scotland, not excepting sa mekle as the kingis grace blood. Thou being of sa bas conditione, that thy father had bot aught oxin gang of land; and his progenitouris for the most part salt mackeris: and that thou art so notable and notorious a traytour, that the actione suld be decidit be vther iudges then be aventwre of arms. Nottheles, I Alexander Stewart of Garleis will offer my self to prove thy vyle and fylthie

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treasone with my persone against thyne, as the law and custome of armes requyres, with protestatione, that it sall not be preiudiciall to my honour nor to my blood, to compair my self with sic ane leat prentit gentleman, manifestlie knowin to have comitted at sundrie tymes dyvers traysonis, and takin out of the galeis to be kepit to the gallous. This cartell for the more assurance, I have subscrivet with my hand at Leith, the 14 of June, 1571. Alexander Stewart of Garleis, younger \*."

"Thy cartell I have resavit, which is na direct answir to myne in ony speciall poynt. But seing thou takis vp-on the to be the vterer of [mony] sklanderous wordis to my reproche, speciallie in that, that thou hes termed me a notorious traytour, and written that I am manifestlie knowin to have comitted at sundrie tymes dyveris treasonis, (whairof I thank God thou art not able to specifie ane). If that thou hes written, I affirm thou hes falslie, wickitlie, and mischantlie lieth in thyne throat, which I will menteane, with my persone and thyne, according to the law of armes. And gif thou dar persew thy chalenge, I sall meit the in neutrall and vnsuspect place, whare none sall medle in the querall but our selvis; and thair, be Godis

\* Sir Alexander Stewart, an ancestor of the earl of Galloway.



grace, mak thy awin tong declair, that thou hes falslie and rashlie lied. And whair thou wald be thy cartell, mak it appeir to thame that are not weill acquaintit with vs bayth, that I am of so bas conditione, that I may not be compared with the in degrie. Albeit, thy vaine bragging therin be not worthie of answir, yet I affirm, that therin also thou hes falslie lieth; I and my progenitouris being alwayis gentlemen of blude and armes, hes bene in gritter estimatione, alsweill with the princes of this realme as the subiectis, then thou art able ever to attene to. Of thy blood I will not speak, having to doe only with thy self. Thou art so far degenerat from the stait of thy ancestouris, be the notable imperfectiones that are knowin to be in the, which I remit to the iudgment of the people, to whome thy franticke nature is notoure, that gif I wald stand vpon my reputatione being of the rank and steat I am of, I myght with reasone refuse thy chalenge. But vnder protestatione, that in vther causes it be not preiudiciall to me, I will at this tyme answir thy chalange as said is. Subscryvit with my hand at Edinburgh castell, the 25 of Junii, 1571.

Wm. Kircaldie."

"Whare be wryting, deatit the 25 of this moneth of June, subscryvit with thy hand, which I have resaved, thou callis my cartell na direct answir to thyne in ony

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speciall poynt ; to that I say, as I have before said, and which, God willing, I sall prove vpon the, that thou art indeid a notable and notorious traytour. And this being the most speciall poynt, that in thy cartell thou seames to iustifie thy self of includes, and conteanis vnder it the remanent particularis, whair of everie ane is so notoure, that there is left no pleas of doubt, as vanelie and lienglie thou waldes pretend, bragging that I am not able to specifie ane of thy treasons : whairas, besydes the notorietie of them to all honest men in this realme, thy awin hand writtis compared with thy contrarous deidis, are able to convince the of ane number of filthie treasonis, which being pruiſfis evident, the tryall of the lawes of armes in that cais is not requyred, but rather the ordinarie lawes of the realme suld iudge and punis thy manifest vntrueth and treasons. And speciallie thou hes fortifeid and assisted, and ioyned with thame that fortifies and assists the persones suspected, and knowen culpable, and forfaitit be the law for the horrible murtheris of ymquhil our soverane lordis father, worthie of memorie, and of ymquhil the erle of Murray, leat regent of this realme, and hes dyvers of them presentlie in the castell of Edinburgh. Did you not set the wardonis and presonerris comitted to thy custodie within the castell, for quyetnes within the comonweill and suretie of the kingis esteat, at libertie, soone efter the mur-

ther of the leat regent, being thy awin maister: and was not the same libertie the verie caus of staying the punishment therof? Did not thou breck the kingis presone of the tolbuith of Edinburgh, treasonable tacking foorth of the same, sic as had comittit that same day, a recent murther be thy awin directione and comand? In doing of the which deid, discharged not thou the ordinance of the castell against the toune of Edinburgh, to the terrour and harme of the inhabitants therof? Hes thou not vused the said castell, and the kingis ordinance, and mvnitiones (being therein) to ane vther vse and fyne nor it was appointed, when the same was comitted to thy traist against thy fayth and promise? Hes not thou menteaned, and now menteanes oppen rubbaris, native theivis, and comone breakeris of the godlie peace with the quenis majestie and realme of England. Hes not thou sauld ane part of the kingis mvnitione and stufe being within the said castell, and prodigallie consumed ane vther part, and no little quantitie, to the destructione of the kingis gude subiectis? And finallie, hes not thy shamefull defectione fra the caus of the king, thy soverane lord whois obedience thou professit, (and be the new erecting of the pretendit auctoritie of the quene, his hienes mother at Edinburgh, ane murtherer of hir awin husband, and ane enemye to the true religione of Jesus Christ, which without thy treasone culd not have bene

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done, nor wold not have bene permitted,) betrayed not onlie the king, and sic noblemen and subiectis, inhabitantes therof, which now to leat may repent them that they have suffered thame selfis to be abused by the, vnder cullour of freindship and league standing betuixt them and the, as captane of the said castle, in the kyngis name, to have thair libertie oppressit be thy tyranie and treasone ; thair tread beyonde sea restreaned be procurement of the and thy confederatis ; thair honest nyghtboris exiled and made prisoneris ; thair gudis spoyled, and searched, at the licentious appetite of men of warr : thame selvis made slaves, and discharged of bearing of armes, the portis and walles of thair toвне garneised with suldeoris ; the service of God, and discipline of the kirk neglected, excommunicatis resavit in hous of prayer, and preiching of the word of God ; with the tolbuithis, where iustice suld [be] ministrat, made an den of theivis, and ane receptacle of men of warr and suddeartis ; yit thy schameless brag of fighting sall not advance thy untrew querrel, nor silence procure credit to thy leis, as hypocrisie rather then proves, hes heirtofore purchest thy bypast reputatione. I will, and darre persew my chalenge with my persone against thyne, according, to the law of armes, and leaving longer contentione with the in wordis, which thy generall answir declaris the to delyte in, I promise and offer to meit the hand to hand, on hors or fute, armed with iak, speir, steil bonet, sword, and whin-

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ger, being the order of Scottis armour, in the Gallo-  
ley, vpon the wast side of the hee way betuixt Leyth  
and Edinburgh, upon the third day of July nixt, be  
nyne houris befoir nyne, whare nane sall mell in the  
querrall but our selvis : which place is sa newtrall and  
vnsuspect, as thou can not have a subterfuge to refuse  
it, except that thou will afoir hand confess willinglie  
thy treasonable turpitude, alreddie so notorious to  
vtheris with thy awin tong, and owther suffer for thy  
offence, or imploir mercie for the same. Whair thou  
braggis, that thou and thy progenitouris have alwayis  
bene gentlemen of blood and armes, I say, the order  
and tyme of thy advancement, being so weill knowin,  
neidis no further answir, but rander agane schortlie  
thy schameles leis in thy awin throat. Thy present  
tresonable doingis, doe declair how ewill thou hes de-  
servit that estimatione with the princes and subiectis of  
this realme, that heirtofoir without gude caus thou hes  
had, which now may repent them of that confidence  
they reposed in the, having proved the true to none  
that ever thou promised fayth or obedience vnto : and  
for my awin part, I think, never to preis to atteane to  
estimatione be sic tresonable dealing as thou hes prac-  
tised. In that thou termes me degenerat from the  
esteat of my ancestouris, be the notable imperfectiones  
in me, and that my franticke nature is notore to the  
people, and that thou being of the state and rank

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thou is of, may with gud resone refuse my chalange, as thou art not able (praysit be God) iustlie to burding me with ony ane poynt of vntreuth, schame, or dishonour; sua I regard not that villanous and sklanderous dealing, whair of I doubt not all men sall have the lyk opinione as they have of thy self, seing thou declairis thy awin opprobrie, for that the people can and dois iudge the stait and rank of vs bayth, having gud caus to curs the tyme that ever thou was placed in that charge, that so vntrewlie hes dealt with them, to thair wraik and desolatione against thy fayth and promise, and I doubt not be Godis grace, to gar thy tvng acknowledge before the world thy manyfold treasonis and turpitude, and manifest the clocked poysons that so long hes lyine in thy feanyeat breast. Protesting that my answir in chalange with the, sall not preiudge the proces to be led in form of law against the, for thy monyfald treasons, nor to my honour, being knowin for ane auncient and vndefeamed hous, that compairis my self to so notorious a traytour, wha of iustice, and the law of armes, aught not to be resavit to sic iustificatione. Subscryvit with my hand, at Leith, the last of Junii, 1571. Alexander Stewart of Garleis, younger."

"I have resaved thy cartell, deated at Leyth, the last of June, whairin I persave thou delytis in multe-

pleying of wordis, which I will purposelie eschew in respect the mater salbe tryed be deidis, and not be wordis. To thy accusationes, therefore, I will mak na vther answer presentlie but as before, that in the whole poyntis that thou has vtered to my reproche, thou has falslie lied in thy throat. To thy offer to meit me in the feild, in the place named by thy letter, which thou callest neutrall and unsuspect, as presentlie, the cais standis, it can not be reputed vnsuspect and newtrall for me, so grit forces lyand in Leyth, as now are thair, and wilbe at the day appointed be thy letter. And yit, gif I ware ane privat man, as I have sumtymes bene, not bound to a charge, I wald mak litle difficultie of ony place where ther were but onlie questione of my persone. But in respect of the charge I beare of this hous (being of so grit consequence) the principall fortres of the realme, vpon the suretie whair of thair dependis moir nor the persone of a thousand sic as eather of vs may import, I am compellit to provyde farther for the securitie of my persone (whairon the securitie of the hous dependis) to be frie from all vther but thy self, nor otherwayis at ony vther tyme I wold : and therefore to mak ane place betuixt this and Leith vnsuspect to me be reassone of my charge foresaid, I requyre that thrie of that partie, whome I will name, be entreat within this hous to remane as pledges and hostages during the tyme of

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our medling, that no man of that partie sall have to do with me but thou onlie; wha vpon my honor salbe releaved and put saillie to Leyth, imediatlie efter our querrall be endit, but fraud or guyle. This poynt being provydit, I promise to meit the to fight in sic manner, and with sic armes, offensive and defensive, as I sall prescrybe to the, which, be the law of armes, thou has no place to appoint, but man at this tyme be in my optione and chose. Send me answer of this poynt, and thou then sall persave, there sall neather delay nor subterfuge be used on my part. Gif thou had ony wit or discretione, thou wold have forborne to reale and speik so irreverentlie of a princes, whose subiect thou art born. Thy rashnes in that behalfe declaris what man thou art. At Edinburgh Castell, the first of July, 1571.

William Kirkaldie."

"Thy wryting I have resaved, at Leyth, the first of Julij instant; and whare as thou makkis mentione I delyte in multiplicatione of wordis (which ye wald eschew) as I am on the vther part willing to eschew wordis, so wald I that neather drift of tyme, nor vther culloreth excuse, suld conceilt thy tressonable turpitude; bot, to be schort, as I have said before, in my last cartell, in all the poyntis conteanit therein, and which, God willing, I sall preive vpon the, that thou art, indeid, a notable and notorious traytour: and



whairas thou makis mentione, that the place appointed be my cartell is not neutrall nor vnsuspect to the, be reassone of the charge thou beirs that hous, albeit the contrare be the veritie (being within the schot of the canone) as is notore. Yet that maner of schift sall not trampe the querrell of armes vnderfute, nor give the world to vnderstand that thou offeris that thing which the law therof requyris : I offer to send to the, afore our medling, a band of my Lord Regentis Grace, with all the rest of the noble-men of his partie, being heir in Leyth, that, during the tyme of our medling, there sall nothing be attemptat be thame, nor none of thairis, against the nor thyne assistaris (but that which salbe done betuixt our selvis onlie), receaving the lyk band fra the and thyne agane. And whair as thou desyris sic thrie as thou sall name of this partie to be enterit within that hous, for thy suretie : what thinkis thou ? or what may the world gather of that vnresonable desyre, which may seame that thy conscience fightis against thy self, will not suffer the to enter to defend thy vnryghteous querrell thou hes tane on hand, but to seik and schift excuses thou can to cullour thy manifest vntreuth and treasons ; yet, to dryve the to that poynt, that thou sall not gang bak agane, I offer, and I sall give to the thrie of this syde, equall in degrie of blood, and rent with me and the, receaving the lyk agane at thy handis, for suretie

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of the and thy assistaris during the said tyme of our said melling. And what I have spokken vnreverentlie of a princes, I aught the no accompt therof. Thou thy self hes spokken mair of that mater nor I have done. I have greater causes to be sorie nor thou hes that sic causes suld be gewin to speik vpon. This is a sufficient answeare to thy letter, and the rest to my former cartellis. At Leyth the 2 of Julij, 1571. Alexander Stewart, of Garleis, Younger."

"I resaved thy letter, dated at Leith, the 2 of Julij, and becaus I wald eschew the wryting of wordis (which dryves tyme), and bring the mater quicklie to the poynt, I requyre immediatlie, that tuo freindis of myne myght meit, vpon assurance, tuo gentilmen of that partie, to conferre vpon all thingis for bringand our medling schortlie to pas. To that effect, I directed the lard of Pittadrowe, and the young laird of Drylay, wha had power of me for sufficient securitie to condescend vpon the day and place of our combat, and to offer sufficient securitie for this partie to the, and certane gentlemen that suld accompany the to the place, to see that you suld be sinceirlie and vpryghtlie dealt with all. I trust that Andro Ker of Fadownsyde, and Captane Craufurd (whome I tak to be discreit gentlemen, and to vnderstand what is ressonable in sic caisses), will beir record, that my saidis freindis offered all measour in my name, yet sen be a ticket from

thame, directed yesternyght to the saidis lairdis of Pittadrow and Dryláy, I vnderstand that you requyris that my offeris may be send in wryting, thair desyris salbe satisfeit in that behalf, that the world may iudge therof. Bot first I will tuiche a little the grund of our querrell, repeating the beginning, and the proceedings sensyne, whairby it may the moir easilie appeare to all indifferent persones, that my offeris and desyres are ressonable. The roote of all this mater proceidis from ane proclamatione set furth be the erle of Lennox, and subscrivit with his hand, deated at Stirveling, the sext of Apryle last bypast, whairvnto I maid ane direct answer be ane vther proclamatione publissed at Edinburgh schortlie thereafter. When I sawe no reply was made therto, and yet was, be comone voice and fame informed, that in that cumpany which hes adioyned them selfis to him, there was dyvers brutes spread of me, sclanderis spocken, writen, and vtered to my reproche, whair of I culd not guess the certane author, I directed my cartell to dyvers places of the realme, deated the xi of June, answering in generall as apperteneth, to all that by lettres, proclamationes, brutes, and reportis, had gewin out to the people sic fals and vntrue tailes of me. When I was in suspence waiting for answer, thou gave thy self out as campione for the rest, and tuke the whole querrell vpon the, offering, be thy cartell,

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deated at Leyth, the 22 of Junii last, bypast, thy self to prove vyle and filthie treasone vpon me, with thy persone against myne, as the lawes and custome of armes requyris ; whairvnto I made a direct answer, bearing deat the 25 of Junii, and gave the the lie, offering to menteane it with my persone to thyne, according to the law of armes ; and gif thou durst persew thy chalenge, promiseist to meit the in the feild, in place vnsuspect, whair none suld medle in the quarrell but our selves. I myght, with gud reasone, have refused to fight with the, in respect of mony circumstances, depending vpon myne persone and thyne, notore to the whole people ; and, namelie, in that thou art degenerat from the ancient stait of thy hous, and thy blood steayned, as I am informed, be matching of thy motheris father, called Dunbar, with a priestis dochter, of whom thou art descendit, and so ane of the principall branches of the preistis dochter \* ; whairbe the contrare it sall not be fund, that ony of my branches of long continuance hes bene vther then gentlemen, without matching eather with preist or merchant. This consideratione hes not stayed me ; but I will menteane my honor against thy iniust chalenge. Be thy wryting, deatet at Leyth the last of

\* This alludes to bastardy, as priests could not marry. It appears that, Stewart's mother was a daughter of Dunbar of Clugston.

June, thou avowed, that thou dar, and will persew thy challenge with thy persone against myne, according to the law of armes ; and therefore promise to meit me hand to hand, on hors or on fute, armed with jack, speir, steilbonet, sword, or whinger, on the Gallowley, vpon the wast syde of the hie way betuixt Leyth and Edinburgh, vpon the thrid day of Julij, instant, be nyne houris afore none ; to the which I answerit directlie be my letters, deatit the first of Julij, and therein schew dyvers considerationis wharfore the place nominat be the was not to be reputed vnsuspect, as my lettre at length proportis ; yet, to mak ane place betuixt Leyth and Edinburgh, vnsuspect to me, I requyred hostages ; which poynt being provydit, conforme to my lettres, I promised to meit the, to fight, in sic maner, and with sic armes, offensive and defensive, as I suld prescryve to the ; the appointment whairof man at this tyme be at my choise, in respect of the nature of our querrell, and in consideratione wha is persewar, and wha is defender. To my requisitione, thou answered, be thy letter the secund of Julij, that thou wald send me afoir our melling a band of all the noblemen of that partie in Leyth, for suretie, that na vther suld medle in the mater bot ourselfis, which offer, I finding not sufficient in respect of charge I beare, and willing to bring the mater quicklie to ane end, and to determine at once, with-

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out forder delay, all thingis necessar for the combat, I requyred the meiting mentionat in the beginning of this lettre. Now to the point, my freindis foirsaidis had comissione to agrie vpon a certane day to be the 25 of Julij instant: they had comissione to agrie vpon the grund to be the barres be wast, the wast port of Edinburgh, the place accustomed, and of auld appointed for tryall of sic materis in thir partis, none to come with the neir the place, but tuelf gentlemen, to see that thou suld have fair play, for thy suretie; and thare my freindis hath power to offer to send the afore our medling, a band of all the noble men that are heir of this partie with my awin band, that during the time of our medling, there sall nothing be attempted against the and the tuelf gentlemen in thy cumpany, but that that salbe done betuixt ourselves onlie; which offer, I am assured, that on no reassone thou may refuse, seeing it is equivalent to that thou makis to me. Seing, then, that I am the defendare, and in respect of charge of this hous, whairto I am bound, and wharevpon so grit thingis dependis, beand the principal fortrice of this realme; and in respect of the tyme, I am compellit to stick vpon mony thingis farther than I wauld vtherwayis doe, and at ane vther tyme. Be reasone whairof, the chusing of the place suld rather be myne, I makand the same securitie that thou offeris to me. They were also instructed, that

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all maner of armour, with hors, and vther thingis  
necessar for the combat, suld be sufferit be that partie  
to be convoyed to me, without ony impediment, with  
sic freindis and servandis as I suld appoint to fetch  
them, and to offer the lyke and siclyke, that sic  
freindis as I wold desyre to be with me that day, be  
suffered, without all truble, to come with me, and to  
offer to suffer siclyk, thy friendis, to come to Leyth  
agane that day. As to the armor to provyde thy self  
befoir the day, and bring with the ane hors, a iak, steil-  
bonet, plait sleives, speiris, a sword, a dager, a corslet,  
a murrione, a pick, a tuo handit sword, a pair of gant-  
cloths, tuo sword strypes, or pleatis, for the theis and  
leggis. And when thou art come to the feild, I sall  
prescryve vnto the according to my privilege, whether  
we sall fight armed or vnarmed, or on hors or on  
fute, or what armes thou may vse, whairof I sall vse  
the lyk, and no vther. Last of all, seing thou art  
the persone whome the erle of Lennox and his adhe-  
rentis hes send out as thare campione, to take the  
querrell on hand, I requyre that he and they, vnder  
thair hand writtis, will allow the to be there campione  
in the said querrel, and oblis thame selvis to recog-  
nosce and acknowledge the wronge and iniurie done  
to me be so mony of thame, as be wrytingis, procla-  
mationes, brutes, or wordis, hes vtered sic slande-  
rous teales preiudiciall to my honor, and be content

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to repair my honor accordinglie, in forme as effeiris, incais I obtene victorie over the, wherof I have no doubt, be the grace of God, who knowis my querrell to be iust. And vpon thir conditiones, I sall, God willing, meit the in the feildis at the day appointed. Subscryvit with my hand, at the castell of Edinburgh, the 5 day of Julij, 1571.

William Kirkaldie."

" Be thy letter, dated at the castell of Edinburgh, the 5 day of Julii, instant, thou seames in the beginning to schaw thy vnwillingnes, to wishill wordis in our querrell, as that thou thoughtis ewill of the dryving of tyme, and yit multipleing superfluous wordis, makis a large discours of the ground of thy querrall, as thou falslie and liandlie wold pretend, through ane proclamatione, set out be the kingis majesties, darrest gudschir as regent of this realme, which proclamatione thou wrytis, that thou directlie answerit be ane vther proclamatione, published at Edinburgh ; in all which pointis thou manifestis thy naked vntreuthis, leis, and excuses ; still schifting to save thy self from the tryall of thy iniust querrall be the lawe of armes : for, as it is true, and salbe verefeit befor the world, that thou hes not onlie professit and avowed the obedience of the authoritie of the king, myne and thyne soverane lord, so hes thou written, named, and acknowledged the erle



of Lennox, his hienes gudschir, as regent of this realme, wha occuppeing that charge, and perceaving not onlie thy defectione from thy promised fayth and alledgeance be thyne actiones, in reasing of men of weir against the lawes of the realme, attoure the boundis of thy proper power and charge, which is weill aneuche knowin; but als finding be thy lettres, apprehendit in Dumbartane, a pruife of thy befoir suspected treasone, his grace in making and setting out of the said proclamatione, prohibiting men of weir to serve the in thy treasonable interpryses, then kything them selfis in deid, did nothing but that which of his office requyred, and thou in making thy said alledged answir, schew in effect in write but that which of before thou had gane about indirectlie, to practise by reasone against thy fayth, vainelie and presumpteouslie usurping vpon the to counterpace the king thy soveranes proclamatione, and in wordis to mak equalitie, and compair the, being of a bas conditione, to his hienes darrset gudschir, tutour and regent. And for the brutes spread, and slanderous wordis spokken, of the which thou seames to mak the occasione of the directing of thy first cartell, call thame brutes or sclanderis as thou pleases, they are no lies, which all the world may easilie iudge, comparing thy subscriptiones with thy lait actiones. And sen thou was not ignorant, nor in suspence, as thou woldest

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seame to be, the setteris out of the said true proclamationis and letteris, but directed thy said cartell vpon a vaine brag and ostentatione, to dasch men with the opinione of thy fechting, whair no sic intentione was in thy filthie and corrupted thought. I was not as a campione for the rest, as thou writes, but as a true gentleman vndefamed, tuik vpon me as ane to answir thy querrall cartell, as ane hundreth besydis me, gentlemen of blude and armes (although thou hes made no exceptione), will offer and mak the lyk chalange against the, having so gud ground and querrall, whenever they sall sie sic licklieheid on thy part to perform thy part therof. Thou schifted not for the circumstances depending on thy persone in the first bragging cartell, becaus then appeirandlie thou had not opinione to fynd thy matche; thou said not in thy first cartell, that thou excepted men degenerat from the auncient state of thair hous; but thy letter importis, without exceptione, of ony persone or estait, of what estait, degrie, or qualitie whatsoever he be: be which wordis as thou schew thy arrogance, not excepting the kinglie blude and cheif nobilitie, to whome thou can no wayis compair thy self, so hes thou first denudit thy self of all exceptione against the persone of ony whatsoever qualitie (wryt as pleises the now of my motheris father for a schift and subterfuge) howbeit, I (in all respectis, pleaset be God) can in honour be

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preferred to the, except that thou wald chalange the betraying of that the kingis hous, and vsing it to ane vther end nor thou receavit it, for to be a preferment, and therin I give the place as a traytour; so mynd I never contend with the in treasone, whairwith thou art sua spotted and practised; bot to leive the to resave the reward and frutes of thy deserving, and as thou wranglie detractis my motheris father, in matching, as thou sayis, with ane preistis doughter, that woman that thou meanis of, hes brocht in more auld inheritance to me, and to the posterities of my hous, nor thou hes of propertie of ony landis hauldin of the kingis of this realme, as is notourlie knowin; for it weill appearis, thou hes little assurance of honestie and gudnes of thy awin querrall, in that thou schamefullie and cowardlie (as thou haist) schiftis and de'ayis to abyde my chalange in the newtrall and vnsuspected place be me appointted, whairin ther can no inequality appeir; it being midway betuixt the tuo townes, whair the forces now remanes, and within the schot of the canone of that castell. Have I not offered to enter to the, thrie of this syde, equall in degrie in blude, and sent with me as pledges; I resaving the lyk for the suretie of the, and thy assisteris during the tyme of our mellie? and now thou to appoint the grund to be the barrace, be wast the wast port of Edinburgh, as place accustomed as thou writis, and

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none to come with me, but xii gentlemen, to sie that I have fair play, with a band of the nobilitie of that partie, and thy awin band for our soverteis. It may appeir to all the world, that in that offer thou seikis but subterfuge, schifting, and delay ; for when the said barrace was place accustomed, the castell of Edinburgh (vnder the wall and danger whair of it lyes) was in the keping of the obedient subiect to the king and authoritie for the tyme, and the tovne of Edinburgh frie, vnoppressit, or vnder tyranny ; and now the castell is in the power of the, a notorious traytour, and the tovne is garnised with men of weir raised vnder thy traist, what reasone or equalitie is it, that onlie xii in my cumpany salbe present the tyme of our mellie, without prescription of number on thy part ? or what suretie can thy band or promise be to me, thou having alreddie violat thy band and subscriptione, gewin for thy obedience to the king our soverane lord, therby tack- ing on the, the spot of infamie for ever. Whair thou sayis that I am the persone whome my lord Regent, and the kingis constant obedient subiectis (which thou termes his adherentis) hes set out as thair campione to tak the querrall on hand, thou lies therin to thy throat, for as, lykas the regent and the kingis iustice hes not to contend with the, but be iust executione of paines of the lawes, and his hienes authoritie, wharvn- to thou hes subiected thy self against them, for thy

manifest treasone and vntuethis, sa, I movit be thy schameless and braggane cartell, offering sa prouddie to fight for thy tint and spoyled honour against ony, without exceptione of persone, could not, nor can not but directlie answir the as I have done, and sall alwayis doe whither thou eather answir my chalange or, els confess thy treasone and turpitude. And therefore, yit agane, I offer to meet the hand to hand, in a place newtrall, being of equall distance betuixt thir townes of Leyth and Edinburgh, ony day thou will appoint, (or that same day gif pleased the) betuixt and 25 day of July instant, agriable to the day of thy last cartell. I sall enter sic ostages for the suritie of the and thame that accompanies the, as thou will enter for the securitie of me and thame that accompanies me. I desyre na mea freindis to behold play on my part, nor thou sall have on thy part. I sall bring with me sic armour as thou specifes in thy last cartell, to the place of our mellie. I sall arm myself as thou prescryves, my armour being equall to thine; I sall procure that armour, hors, and vtheris thingis necessarie for the combat, salbe sufferit be the kingis partie to be convoyed to the without impediment, with sic freindis as thou woldest desyre to be with the that day, thou procurand the lyk to me for that partie. Gif heirvpon I sall not resaise thy plane direct and resolute answir in writ, betuixt this and the fyftene

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day of this instant, then will I luke for no farther answir at 'thy handis, but will remit thy refuse and delay to be iudgit be all indifferent persones. Subscryvit with my hand, at Leyth, the tent day of Julij, 1571. Alexander Stewart of Garleis, younger."

"I have resaveth thy letter, dated at Leyth the tent of this instant Julij, whairin I find no sufficient answir to the most part of the headis conteaned in my letter of the 5 of Julij, but speciallie tuo heidis, which being most substantiall, I may not overpas the one tuiching the avowing of the to be the campione for thea persones who hes set the out to tak there querrall on hand; the vther, tuiching the place which I requyred to be vnsuspect for me, not sa mekle for the respect of my persone (which is weill knowin, and specialie to that cumpany) I have never spared, but hes bene liberall aneugh therof, whenever the defence of my countrie, my awin honour, the weill of my friendis, or of sic as was familiare with me, or oftymes causes of les consequence did requyre it; as for the respect of the charge whairvnto I am bound, which makis me against my awin naturall, to be more circumspect then ever I have bene heirtfore, vtherwayis wald be or will be heirefter, when with my honour I may be frie therof, and that in respect of the practise which I am able to

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prove, hes both directlie and indirectlie bene devysed, and set a wark to betray me and this hous, whairvp-  
on gritter thingis dependis than a thousand tymes the  
lyves of sic as ony of vs tua may contraweall. The  
cair I have and takkis for saif keping therof, hes bene,  
and sall in the end manifestlie prove to the world, to  
be fore better causes, tending to the libertie of the  
cuntrie and comon wealth therof, than the actiones of  
that partie which thou followis doe importe. Thy  
offer of hostages to mak the place vnsuspect I esteeme  
worth nothing, and no better than gif I suld cum to  
the place appoynted be the without hostage, for it is  
weill knowin, hostages in equall number and degrie,  
enterit on eather partie, can import no securitie mair  
nor gif thair were none at all, in consideratione that the  
one will ever contrawaile the vther, and in all eventis  
releive the vther. I have be my letter of the 5 of  
Julij, offered vnto the reasone aneugh gif thou have  
a desyre, or ony will to pursew thy chalange, which  
offer I sall faythfullie performe in all poyntis. To  
farther constitutiones presentlie, I will not yield in re-  
spect of the charge of this hous; whairof I wis to  
God, I myght with my honour, and without preiudice  
of the publict caus (which I man respect) disburding  
myself presentlie. Gif so weare, thou suld in effect  
perceave how litle I esteame the, and that I wold litle  
stick vpon eather ceremony or circumstance of tyme

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and place that myght hinder our meitting, assuring the, that whither thou presentlie insist or not in the persuit of thy chalange, I sall put the in remembrance therof, so sone as I may by ony meanes put my self to libertie, which I hoip salbe more schortlie then thou beleives, at least soner then thou, God willing, sall have caus to be glaid of. I will remit the consideratione of my offer to the iudgment of the world, wha will be privie to our proceadingis on bayth partis, and so will indifferentlie iudge, and accordinglie. Lat me knaw befoir the xv day of this instant, whidder thou will satisfie the desyre of my last letter of the v of this instant or not, for vtherwayis I will look for no answir, while the tyme that I sall of new put the remembrance of thy dewitie, whilk assure thy self I will doe as said is. Subscryvit with my hand at Edinburgh castell, the xii of Julij, 1571.

William Kirkaldie."

" I. resaved thy letter of the dait of the 12 of July instant, wisland and multipliand wordis, as hes bene thyne accustomed maner without certaintie: whairvnto in few wordis I answir, that as in the first proude and arrogant cartell, set out in the defence of thy pretendit and spottit honour, thou neither exceptis the persone of ony that wold answir the of whatsoever estate or qualitie, nor made shift



and excuse in respect of that the kingis hous (trayterouslie abused be the) nor yit socht ony vther place then it which was newtrall and vnsuspect (as the barrace vnder the castell wall can not be thought be nane indifferent), so is there now no place left vnto the, to vse ony of thea naked and schameles subterfuges, without thou will revoik and directlie gainesay thy former wrytingis send in this matter. I have sufficientlie and directlie answirit till thy wrytingis, and principallie in my last answir of the tent of this moneth, whairin I have condescendit vnto all thy prescryved devyses, saving onlie the place equall and indifferent, with equall number of attenderis. Now, therefore, I tak thy last letter as a refuse of my cartell, and as thy confessione of thy awin treasonable turpitude, and when ever thou rememberis me of ony chalange, without it be with practise of treasone (as thy custome hes bene), thou sall, God willing, find na advantage therin, and this for answir to thy last letter of the xii of this moneth. Wishing rather thou wald give me present and direct answir, nor vanelie to brage that thou sall put me in remembrance, which I can not beleive to see. Subscryvit with my hand at Leyth, the xiii day of July, 1571. Alexander Stewart, etc.”

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“ I have resavit thy letter, dated at Leyth the 14 of this instant, whairin I find no direct answir to myne of

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the xii, nor yit appearance that thou will insist in thy challenge, vnles I will condescend to thy desyre, tuiching the place, whairvnto I will na wayis presentlie yeild, in respect of the considerationes conteaned in my former letteris of the 5 and 12 of this instant. I have in the same requyred na conditiones, but sic as I traist the world and all indifferent iudges, sall esteame both reassonable and necessar, wha will iudge according of both our proceadingis. I tak thy not acceptance of my offeris as a refuse of thy chalange, which nottheles sall serve the of nothing, for I hoip schortlie (as before I write) to put the of new in remembrance, when I sall not stick vpon sic circumstances, as now for dewities saik I am constrayned to doe. At Edinburgh castell, the 25 [15] day of July, 1571.

William Kirkaldie."

There is ane coppie of the kingis majestie's proclamatione gewin out the vi of Aprile, 1571.

James, be the Grace of God, king of Scottis, to our lovitis, John Inglis, messinger. . . . Our shrefs in that part, coniunctlie and severallie, specialie constitute greting. Forsamekle as it is vnderstand to vs and our darrest gudschir, Matheu erle of Lennox, lord Darnlie, our lauchfull tutour and regent, to vs our realme and liges, that albeit, proclamatione being

laitlie maid at our mercat crose of our burgh of Edinburgh, makand mentione, how Sir William Kirkaldie of Grange Knyght, captane of our castell of Edinburgh ; had leviat and taken vp within the bowelis of our realme, a certane number of vaged men without leive asked, or obteaned of vs therto, expres contrare our actis of parliament, for nothing elis, as may be supposit, then to dispossess vs gif he may, of our royall estait and authoritie, trubling of the comone quyitnes of the cuntrie, and bereiving vs of our lyfe and croun : howsoever be his culored meanes, he suld give the world vtherwayis to vnderstand. And therfore strait charge and comandement was gewin to all our leiges and subiectis, which ignorantlie had taken wages of the said captane, not knowing the danger in the esteat of ane man of weir, and tuke armes at his comand, to leive the samyn ; and also that none suld tak wages of him therafter without leive obteint therto, vnder the pane of deid, as the said proclamacione at mar lenth propertis. Notwithstanding the said captane, efter the same was proclamet, in contempt therof, caused stryk the dryme out throw our said burgh, not only convening them he had alreddie vnder wage, but also desyred vtheris to cum and tak wages, vnder the charge of captane Melving. As also thereafter treasonable enterit within our place of Halyrudhous, and S' Geilis steiple, within our said burgh, and garnised

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the same with men of weir ; and to mak manifest his treasonable dealing, hes appointted ane conventionne to be haldin schortlie within the samyn, and directed his lettres not onlie to sundrie our true leigis and subiectis, desyring them to convene therto ; but also declared traytoris, murthereris of our darrest father and vncle, and vtheris naughtie persones knowin, that to eschew impunitie of there wicked lyfe and libertie to doe ewill will adioyne with him in his treasonable doingis ; sua that altogether, he is bent to heip up mischeif vpon mischeif, eather without feare of God, or reguard to vs his native prince and soverane lord. It is not neidfull to mak long discours of his bypast lyfe, being notorlie knowen to all men in what maner he hes behaved him self first and last to thame, whose service he did profes, and whome of he did reseave, althought vnworthelie, grit benefites, which made him to misknow him self. And seing it hes pleased the Almyghtie God of his gudnes to rander in our handis our castell of Dumbartane, be the diligent laboris and travelis tane be our saidis darrest gudschir and regent, whilk hes bene treassonable deteaned against vs this tyme past, we vnderstand be sindrie of the said captanes wrytingis, apprehendit within the same, what mischeif and truble he hes pretendit to doe in this afflicted cuntrie, and what hid treasone and traytorie hes bene devysed and conspired by him. Bot as God hes al-

reddie circumvenit, and made patent his wicked purposes (by expectatione of men), by randeriug our said castell in our handis as said is ; sua we doubt not but the same God will continew to the glorie of his name, comfort of this poore cuntrie, and confounding of all our adversareis, and to effect that sic as is desyred, or that heirefter be persuadit and desyred be the said captane, to ioyne and assist with him in his treassonable inventiones sall pretend ignorance, but that they sall have sufficient wairning to forbeir. Our will is heirfore, and we charge you straightlie, and comandis that incontinent thir our letters sene, ye pas to the mercat crose of all our burrowes of our realme, and vther places neidfull, and there be oppin proclamatione, in our name and authoritie, comand and charge all, and sundrie, our lieges and subiectis of what esteat, qualitie, or degrie that ever they be off, that nane of thame tak vpon hand to rise, concurre, assist, or menteane the said captane, on ony of his purposes or devises, convene at his comand, be his letteris or vtherwayis, or ony of his adherentis, or of his factione vnder whatsumever cullor and pretence, vnder the paine of treassone : certefeing them that disobeyis, they salbe reput, haldin and esteamed, and demaynet as traytoris, and the proces of dovme of forfaltor salbe orderlie laid against them, conforme to the lawis of our realme and actis of parliament, as ye will answir to vs thervpon. The quhilk to doe, we comitt to you

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our full power. Gewin vnder our signet, the last day of Apprile, 1571.

Kirkaldie against this proclamatione.

To all and sindrie noblemen, gentlemen, and vther lieges, owerthrough all Scotland: I Sir William Kirkaldie of Grange Knyght, captane of the castell of Edinburgh, makis manifest and declairis; that forsa-mekle as Mattheu erle of Lennox, having vnlauchfullie intruded him self in the regiment of this realme, hes laitlie caused publis sindrie letteris at dyvers borrowis of the same, full of calumneis and vntrew reportis against me, be persuasione of certane factioned persones, enemeis to thair native countrie, and to all sic as tendis to the libertie therof; and in effect commanding and chargene on his pretendit maner all men, and speciallie my freindis, servantis, and men of weir whome I had conducit for the preservatione of the said castell, to abandon and leif me and my service; to the end, as cleirly may appeir that he myght the moir easelie betray and suppres the samen, therby to continew in his detestable tyranny to the vtter subversione of the esteatis, lawis, and libertie of this our native cuntrie; for what creweltie, reif, hearschipis, oppressiones, destructione of policie he and his factione hes vsit and done this tyme bygane, I leive to be iudged of your wisdomes, as nothing mair notorlie knowin. And albeit, I am provoçkit be his saidis let-

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teris to mak plane demonstratiōne of all my proceed-  
ingis in tyme past; and that for defence of my honor,  
yit I will differ the same to a tyme mair convenient,  
at what tyme I intend, God willing, to mak knawin  
to the world my true and honest meaning, first to-  
wardis my God and libertie of this realme; yit could  
I not omit, in the mean tyme, to mak ane sumare  
answir to sum mentionet in the samyn lettres, and  
namelie whare he alledges that I have devysit cheif  
treassone and conspiracie against this my native coun-  
trie, as letteris of myne apprehendit in the castell of  
Dumbartane beiris. I am assured, that never he, nor  
na vther man, is able to lat sie sic letteris of myne;  
for I am content to avowe all letters written be me  
before the whole world, which salbe fund honest and  
profitable for this my native countrie, and salbe at all  
tymes, answerable to the lawis, at the comand of the  
lauchfull magistrat, for ony treasone that can or may  
be layed to my charge be him or ony of his adheren-  
tis; for I have hasardit my lyfe for the defence of  
Scotland when he was against it; and gif ony gen-  
tleman vndefamed of my qualitie and degrie of his  
facione, or pertening to him, will say the contrare  
heirof, I ane true Scotisman will say he will speik vn-  
truelie, and lies falslie in his throat, and denunces be  
thir presentis to whatsumever will tak the said quer-  
rell on hand, that I salbe reddie, according to the law

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of armes. Forther accompt of my doingis, I will not give to the said erle of Lennox, wha hes vsurped regiment; I never did acknowledge him, nor yit intendis to doe, bot rather opposed my self fra the beginning, and ever sensyne to the same. How I have behaved my self in keping and vsing of the said castell without violence or iniurie; and how vpryghtlie I mean anent this realme and pacificatione of the present troubles, I call God to witnes, maist earnestlie, and all vther gentlemen within Edinburgh, and vtheris within the reich of this hous, requyring heirfore all true gud subiectis, and them that truelie feiris God, without hipocrisie, as they tender the libertie and weil-fair of this there native countrie, to concurre and assist with me in keping and defending of the said hous against whatsumever persone sal happin to invade me, my freindis, or pertackeris, or the said castell, as I salbe reddie to menteane and defend everie one of thame, in caise they be invadit be ony vnlauchfull meanes, for that caus or for ony vther caus, vnder cullor of it: certefeand all sic as will not concurre with me in the cause and querrell foirsaid, that I will be thair vnfriend at my power, dischargene my self to thame be thir presentis; the which I thought gud to certifie all the gud subiectis of this realme. Protesting befor God and the world I meane nothing but to menteane the trew religione establissed within



this realme, and the comone weill and libertie of my cuntrie, without ony particularitie of my awin. So be it, xiii Aprilis, 1571.

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Heir followis a true copie of the mutuall band betuixt the castell and tovne of Edinburgh, contractit in the obedience of the kyngis maiestie, our soverane lord, publissed, that all men may the better persave how the laird of Grange, against his fayth, honour and promise, is, and hes bene the instrument and occasion of the present vnquyetnes and bypast vastatione of the toun, to the suppressione of the exercise of Godis true religione, the hinderance of iustice, and policie, and calamitie of the whole comone wealth.

At Edinburgh, the viii of Maij, the yeir of God of 1568 yeiris. It is apointed, agreit, and finallie contracted and bundin vp betuix the Ryght Honorable Sir William Kirkaldie, of Grange, knyght, captane of the castell of Edinburgh, for him self, kin, freindis, servandis, assisteris, and partackeris, on that one part, and the Ryght Honorable Symon Preston, of Craigmillar, of that ilk, knyght, prowest of the brugh of Edinburgh, for him self, the baillies, counsall, and comunitie, and whole inhabitantes of the said brugh, on the vther part, in maner, forme, and effect, as efter followes ; that is to say, for sameikle, as it is not vnknawin to thame, how that the quene, our soverane, derrest mother, with certane of the nobilitie, hir as-

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sisteris, and pertackeris, seikis, be all meanes, force, and power they may, to depose our said soverane of his authoritie royall ; and, for mair haistie performing therof, are alreddie, convenit in armes for the invasione of our said maist vndouted soveranes regent, and governor, James, erle of Murray, etc. ; and all vtheris, his pertackeris, and assisteris, tounes, castellis, cities, and whole lieges of this realme, quhilkis will not obey and assist thame in thair vnnaturall and vngodlie proceedingis ; for eschewing whair of, fortificatione, menteaning, and defending of our said vndouted soverane, now in his tender age, and his regent foirsaid, the saidis captane, and prowest, for thame selvis, and takking the burding vpon them for the vtheris above written, according to thair bounden dewitie, and ryght of fidelitie gevin to thair most vndouted and native soverane for mentenanace of him and his authoritie royall, are bunden, oblist, and sworne be the fayth and trueth of thare bodies, lyk as be thir presentis, they bind, oblise, and swearis be thair great oathis, in all tymes cuming, to tak a full, true, and plane part together, for defence of our said soverane, his authoritie, and person royall, and eather of thame, with thair whole force, substance, and power, to fortifie, assist, and menteane vtheris, with thair bodies and gudis, and to concurre and pas together, at all tymes, and to all places neidfull, not onlie

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for the defence of the said castell, toun, liegis, habitatione, and substance therof, bot also for the mean-teanance, ayde, and defence of our said soverane, his authoritie royall, and regent foirsaidis, against all and sindrie that sall pretend to invaid, molest, or persew, thame, or ony of thame; and to ayde and support vtheris with whatsaever thingis necessar in thair possessionis, or salbe possible to thame to doe for the defence of vtheris, as neid sall requyre. And forder, that nather of thame sall heir, see, nor acknowledge the dampnage, or hurt of vtheris, in thair personis, landis, or gudis, bot sall incontinent vaine vtheris therof, with all haist possible, lat, stop, and mak impediment to the samin at there vtter powar; and, finallie, sall nowther contract, compone, tack appointment, or mak agrieance by vtheris, but sall, with their whole poweris, fortifie, defend, and mantene vtheris in the caus above written, but feinyie or dissimulatione, contrair, and against all that lives or die may, that sall happin to pretend to truble or molest our said soverane, in his authoritie royall, his said regent, assisteris and pertackeris, this toвне, castell, lieges, and whole inhabitantis therof, for the causes foirsaidis. In witness of the quhilk to thir present lettres, and inventoris, and contract, subscrivit with our handis, our signet is affixt; at the said burgh, day and yeir, and place foir said, before thir witnesses,

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Sir William Maitland, of Lethingtoun, younger, knyght ; Mr James M'Gill, of Rankeilor nether clerk of Register ; Mr Archibald Dowglas, persone of that ilk, and David Forrest, generall \*, with vtheris dyvers.

William Kirkaldie,  
Craigmiller, knyght.

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Tuysday, the xii of June, 1571, the castelis parliament begane, and the lordis came dovne vpon thair fute fra the castell to the tolbuith, to wit, the Duck, lordis Huntlie, Home, Maxwell, the bischop of Athenis, Lord Claud, Coldinghame, and the abbot of Kilwinning, with dyvers vtheris lairdis, as Pherniherst, etc. whair ane letter was presentit, be Garthlie from the quene (devysed in the castell of Edinburgh, as was iudged) to the lordis thair assembled, declairing how scho was compellit to demis hir authoritie for feare of hir lyfe, and how ewill scho was, and is intreated of her subiectis ; therfore desyred thame, as hir true faythful subiectis, to restore hir to hir former authoritie, seing thingis done be constraint and compulsione can not stand, &c. Whilk request, the lordis then present thought gude, and therefore made all the former proceadingis of the kingis coronatione null, and of none effect, which was voted so amonges thame ; bot my lord Somervell, that was

\* General of the mint.

written for, being asked of his voit, ans writ, that he was a man of small iudgment, and therefore, he be-huffit to advyse, before he suld so rashlie pronounce to depose a crowned king, and so refused, for that tyme, whairof he tuik ane document.

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Within tuo horis and a half, or therby, whilk was about xii houris, they come furth of the tolbuith, ryding in order, first Pherniherst, nixt Lord Claud, then Coldinghame, after him Maxwell. Then followed the Honoris, me Lord Home bering the sword, Huntlie the ceptor, and the Duck the crowne.

In parlamento S. D. N. R. *tento in pretorio, burgi Edinburgi xii die mensis, Junij, anno dui 1571.*

The quhilk day, anent the supplication gevin in to the esteatis of Parliament, quhairof the tenor followes. It is not vnknawin to the whole nobilitie and states of this realme, how the quenis maiestie, being by birth and lawes of the realme, your vndoutedt soverane princes, was a long tyme deteaned captive within the loch and fortalice of Lochlewin, during the which tyme of hir imprisonment, there was presentit to hir hienes, vpon the suddane, a lettre, conteaning a certane forme of dimissione of hir crowne, bearing also hir consent to renunce and owergiffe the same, with a comissione to certane persones specifeit theren, to receave the said renunceatione and dimission in fa-

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voris of hir maiesties derrest sone, and efter the receiving to plant, place, and inaugurate him in the kingdom, and with all ceremoneis requisite, to put the royall crowne vpon his head, etc. as at mair lenth is specifeit in the saidis letter of procuracione or dimission, whilk lettre scho was requyred, and with grit instance, preissed to subscriue ; and, albeit, finding hir self suddanlie assaulted with a motion of so grit consequence, when, as scho was by strait guardis secludit from all intelligence of the most part of hir nobilitie and faythful counsalloris, scho at the first requyred sume delay and tyme, to be advysed vpon saweghtie a caus ; yet, it behoved hir to yeild to forces, whairvnto scho was not able to resist, for sic threateningis and fearful languages was vsed to hir, accompanied with a wehemencie and awfull countenance of them who had the charge to deall in the matter, that it appeired weill in what danger hir most noble personestude, gif scho suld seame repugnant to there most vnressonable desyres ; quhilk opinion was also confirmed in hir hart, be secreat aduertisment send to hir at that same tyme, be sic noble men and trusty persones wha were privie to the extremitie intendit against hir gif scho suld refuse, and yit were, according to there dewitie, cairfull for hir preservatione, be whome scho was advysed to mak na difficultie, as scho tenderit hir awin lyfe, and wald eschew present death.

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The same advise also was brought hir from Sir Nicolas Throgmortoun, knyght, being then in this realme, embassadore for the Quene of England, hir maiesties gude sister, being directed hither purposelie to comfort hir vpon hir said gude sisteris behalf, and to vse all gude offices possible for procuring of hir libertie, wha, (as is probable) be frequent conferences, and discoursing with hir principall adversaries had discypheret there wicket intentione. Quhen, as scho had a little mused with hir self vpon the dangeris imminent, and casting hir eye to viewe the place whair scho was for the tyme, being so small a compas of grund, environet on all partes with the barbare element, the watter, and therewithall considered, vnder whois rewle, keaping, and subiectione scho was, being persones lyk enough to put thair crewell mynasingis to executione, having had experience by some vther thair actiones, that they myght weill find in thair hart to sched blude, and how little reverence they bare to hir royall persone, it is na mervell that, being borne to impyre, and from hir cradle byrth brought vp in comanding, and sua not accustomed to obey, namelie, sic as God had constitute hir subiectis, finding hir esteat so suddanlie changed, and the order of nature invertit, that now scho most be rewlit be hir awin wassallis, being also destitute of all worldly

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comfort or hoip of relief, specialie being a woman, it is (I say) no merwall gif hir hart was stricken with a suddane feare, yea, sic as myght fall in a constant man ; by which feare, hir maiestie was inducit to subscribe the said lettres, and vtheris, bering the establishment of a certane kynd of regiment during the minoritie of hir sone. Vpone how waik a ground the said dimission is foundit, may appeare be the narrative of itself, conteaning so vaine and frivole causes, as neidis little declaratiōe of the contrarie, ffor all that knowis, or has spokken with hir maiestie, can beir record that (praised be God) hīr bodie, spreit, nor sensses, are not sa febled and decayed, that scho was not able to discharge hir self of the office God had called hir vnto as sufficientlie as ony whom they desyrit to be placit in the rume. And ridiculous it had bene to lay vpon the shuldearis of ane infant in the credill, a burding quhilk hir back culd not beare ; beand knawin to be of sa grit pregnant wit, and quick ingyne, brought vp in the most frequent theatere of the world, continewallie exercised in the tread of princelie affairis, indewit with sic wisdom and vther naturall giftis for a prince, that hir most malicious enemeis come never to that impudencie, that they durst argue hir of insufficientcie to beare rewle. Whither the erle of Lennox back be able to carie the heavie burding whilkis hir weak shuldearis culd not beir, lat



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the world iudge, specialie sic as are naturallie acquen-  
tit with his naturalitie, and hes gude pruiſ how grave-  
lie he can diſcours in materis of ſteat. Vpon this pre-  
tendit diſmiſſione, ſubſcryvit as ſaid is, in the place  
of hir imprĩſonement, and extorted be iuſt feare of  
iñſtant death, is grundit, and conſequentlie followed  
the coronatione of hir derreſt ſone, and the name of  
his authoritie abuſed be a few perſonis, wha has clad  
them ſelfis with the coverture therof, the mair easilie  
to overthrowe the whole eſteat. It is not to be paſt  
ower with ſilence, in what maner the privie ſeale was  
appendit to that letter ; how it violentlie, and be force,  
[was] reft out of the keperis handis, as may appeir be  
autentick documentis, ſua as hir maieties ſubſcrip-  
tione was purchaſſed be force, ſo was the ſeill extort-  
ed be force. It is alſo to be conſiderit what probabi-  
litie thair is, that hir maiestie wald have, of hir awin  
motive, gewin ower hir croun to hir ſone, being ane  
infant in the creddle, without proviſione of hir awin  
eſteat, or reſervatione of ony part ; attoure, it is not  
to be neglected of what validitie a diſmiſſione of the  
crovne myght have bene, albeit, na compulſione, nor  
feare had intervenit the ſame, beand a privat act,  
done without all ſolempnitie, ſpecialie without con-  
ſent and authoritie of the ſteatis of the realme, wha  
has ſpeciale interes ; in reſpect that, without thame,  
materis of les weicht can not be viable by the lawes

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of the realme. For how myght the quene, without the authoritie of parliament analie the whole realme, when, by the law scho may not analie the leist tenement of land within the realme, anexit to the crowne, without the advyse and consent of parliament. Sa sone as it pleased God, of his mercie, miraculously to delyver hir maiesties persone furth of that thraldom, and that, by his provydence scho escapit furth of Lochlewin, immediatelie efter hir cuming to Hamiltoun, in presence of hir nobilitie thair assembled, of whome a gude part had bene deceavit vnder culor of that surmased dimissione, scho gave her bodelie aith, that the same dimissione and renunceatione was not of hir awin free motive, bot, as said is, compellit; and that scho was thervnto inducit, be iust feare; and so made solempne revocatione be advyse of Mr Jhone Spens, of Condie, hir advocat\*, as downe in prisone, and by dredour. It is therefore requyred, upon hir maiesties behalf, that ye, the nobilitie, and steatis, presentlie assembled in parliament, will examine the grund whairvpon the pretendit authoritie, vsurped be some vnder the name of hir sone, is foundit; and gif ye find it laid vpon the dimissione and renunceatione, for the reasones foirsaidis, and vtheris to be considerit be you, is not, nor never was valiable, nor can, be the

\* Lord advocate: an office of great honour in Scotland.

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law of nature, God, or man, be susteained; that ye will decerne the same, with all that followit, or dependis thervpon to be, and have bene, null from the beginning, void, and of na force, nor effect, and so to be repute and hauldin heirafter; and so, consequentlie, the said coronatione, and the pretendit authoritie set on be hir derrest sone's name, to ceis, and have no forther effect during hir maiesties lyife; and the whole subiectis of this realme to acknowledge thair naturall band of allegiance to hir self, and to serve and obey hir maiestie in all tymes to cume as there soverane, lyke as the said pretendit dimissione and procuraturie, with all that followed thervpon, had never bene devysit put in vse, nor yit had bene in *rerum natura*, according to iustice, and that ye will heirvpon mak ane act of parliament, and set out proclamation in forme as effeiris.

The lordis spirituall and temporall, and comissioners, presentlie assembled, being with the said supplicatione ryplie advysed, It is statute and ordeaned be the authoritie of the parliament foresaid, that the said pretendit dimissione, renunciation, and overgewing of the crowne, and, consequentlie, the coronatione of hir [maiesties] darrest sone, the regiment and vsurped authoritie thervpon depending, with all that followis thervpon, for the reasones specifit in the said supplicatione, and gude considerationes attour to the whoile

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estatis, are, were, and from the beginning, hes bene null in the self, void, and of na force nor effect, and so are to be repute and haldin of na validitie in all tymes to cume, but to ceis, and to have no further effect during hir maiesties lyfe; and that the whole subiectis of the realme are bound to acknowledge thair naturall bond of allegiance to hir maiestie, as there onlie vndouted soverane, lyk as the same pretendit dimissione and coronatione, with all that followed thervpon, had never bene devysed, not yet had bene in *rerum natura*, the same, notwithstanding, according to the desyre of the said supplicatione, and that letteris be direct thervpon in forme as effeiris.

Attoure, it is statute and ordeaned, that no man tak vpon hand to alter, change, or innovat, or pervert, in ony sort, the forme, or religioun and administratione of the sacramentis, publictlie professit and establissed within this realme, and that the evangle sinceirlie preiched, may have cours, and be propogat without lett, hinderance, or impediment, to the honour of God, and comfort of his kirk; and that all superintendentis, ministeris, exhortaris, and reideris in publict prayeris and supplicationes, may pray in a decent forme, namelie, for the quenis maiestie, our soverane ladie, and hir derrest sonne, the prince, and for her hienes counsall, and whole bodie and states of this comone wealth.

Weddinsday, the xiii day of June, they made thair proclamatione, declaring, in effect, the whole proceedingis of the quene, efter there maner, to mak it knowin to the pepill, how ewill scho was done vnto, be hir subiectis, and how iniustlie scho was deposed, &c. and therfore, they made null the kingis maiestie, and restored hir to hir former crowne. Also, in the same proclamatione, was ane charge to all men, onlie to acknowledge hir as soverane, and none vther. Last, that all ministeris, superintendentis, &c. suld pray for hir in thair open sermondis, althought it was not cludit in that parliament.

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This same day, the castell lordis sent to Mr Craig, desyring him to caus the kirk to be assembled, and redd this letter vnto thame, sent from the lordis, wha convenit at 9 houris efter nyne. Efter the reiding of the letter, the bischop of Galloway, and Sir James Balfour come in, requyring, in the same maner, in the lordis name wha had sent them to the kirk, that they wald pray for the quenis maiestie, thair soverane, and for the prince, hir sonne, whilk thinge the lordis besought them with all gentlenes and submissione to doe ; bot, it was denyed of the whole brethrene, whairat the tuo messingeris wer not content, and discharged them to preich gif they wald not pray for the quene.

This same day, efter nune, Captane Culan, and

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14 Mr James Kirkaldie went to see burd with a vii<sup>xx</sup> men, or therby, to vait for Captane Wemys [wha] was to come over with a band of men of war to the lord Mortoun, wha being aduertised of thair shipping, come to Leyth in the dawing, vpon thurisdai, whair was gottin sum of the castell suddeartis, about 16 or 18. At the full sea, Captane Culane cuming to land was aduertised be one on schoir, and so escapit. The castell also schot to give them aduertisment.

This day, they tuik ane boit, whairin was 27 of Captane Wemys cumpany, and \*himself narrowlie escaped (being in ane creare) be gud saling. This thurisdai, in the nyght, Culan, and his men landit at ane craig besydis Crawmont \*, where they woad to thair waistis before they come to dry land, and so conveyed them selfis saiflie to the toun, notwithstanding of the lord of Mortones watche alongis the coast syde.

15 Fryday, the 15 day of June, the merchell, wha was cume agane, and proposit certane articles, which (as was iudged) were devysed in the castell of Edinburgh : be the heid of wit, Lethingtoun, which are as followes :

\* A village on the Forth, six or seven miles from Edinburgh. Some controversy has arisen, whether it was near this place that the earl of Bothwell seized Queen Mary. From the best authorities, it certainly was so ; but the question appears of very little importance.

Instructiones gewin in be the merchell of Berwick,  
in the quene of Englandis name.

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1. A desyre of sourceans of armes may be had on both sydes, so the same may be beneficiall to the kingis partie.

2. That the persone of the king be conteaned in saiftie ; and the aduersarie pairtie sall not, be force, or ony vther meanis drawe him in thair hand.

3. That both parteis wil be content to send to hir maiestie sufficient personis, authorisit to treat for all materis in controversie, alsweill privat as publict, which the laird of Grange and Lethingtoun have be lettres alreddie offred to doe.

4. The laird of Lethingtoun and Grange, be there letteris, have alredie compleaned that you have spoyled the landis of Lethingtoun and his fatheris gudis, both, and of mony vtheris, and that now, be your leat parliament, Lethingtoun, and sindrie vtheris are forefalted, being concludit be the erle of Mortone and his colligis, at there departoure from hir maiestie, that in the parliament to be hauldin in May last, be him for the king, a chose suld be maid of sufficient personis to treat of the difficulteis betuixt the king and his mother ; and that also it was then movit, that no vther thingis, as foirfaltoris of syndrie personis were then concludit, but of the chose of the commissioneris we here no word, wharby the aduersare partie

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taketh grit aduantage, calumniating the regent and the erle of Mortoun, that they onlie ment by haulding of the same parliament to privat revendges.

5. By lettres from Grange and Lethingtoun, in name of the quenis partie, to remit all there materis both publict and privat vnto hir maiestie.

6. Thought the quenis maiestie had hitherto be persuasions stayed the cuming of force of men out of France, that scho can not find in honor ane reason to procure ane stay of the quene of Scottis reve-neus growing in France, vpon hir dreurie, but that the same may be leafullie sent and disposed by hir to menteane hir awin part.

7. That, by mutuall accorde, all armes cease, saving in this sort, that the regent, for defence of his persone, may be permitted to have sum ressonable guard to tende vpon him; and that also the erle of Marre may have sum defence for the preservatione of the young king.

The merchell travelled to have thir heidis granted vnto, be thame of the kingis partie, but all in vaine: come foorth at after nune.

16

Setterday, the 16 day, both the parteis vpon the feildis. The merschell earnestlie laboured for ane abstinence; but they approcheing ilk ane nearer vther, he laboured that thair myght be no blood sched that day, which was not the lord of Mortonis mynd, be-



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caus he had send away a band of his suddeartis to Dalkeyth, which maid the vther moir bauld ; yit, he promissed, gif they wald reteir back, none of his suld persewe them. But, in the meane tyme, the castle-men brought foorth tuo peice of grit ordinance, and made them for battell, which the lord of Mortoun perceaving, and his cumpany wald be no longer put off be the merchell, who seing he culd doe no gude, departed out of the feild, and sua the pairteis ioyned ; bot the castle horsmen fled (who befoir wald not first reteir for nothing the merchell could speik) and thair futemen, efter a litle recovnter, gave bakis lykwayis, and so all fled into the toun. There were sleane about 80 personis, or therby, and there were tane the Lord Home, and Kilwinning, wha died within an houre efter he come to Leyth, and vii or viii<sup>xx</sup> of suddeartis with them ; tuo peice of ordinance were tane ; Captan Culan also tacken, who was fund in the Canogait, hid within a meit almerie.

Vpon our syde thair was but ane simple suddart slaine, and Captane Weymeis ewill schot (sa ferslie pursewing) at the Nidder bow, whairof he died within ten dayis after. Albeit, the castle saw this, God working against them, yet they askryve the same to chance rather then to Godis providence, who thus mercifullie wald call them to repentance, before his vtter weangence stryk with ony, which, no doubt,

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shall not fail, gif this obstinatlie they continew in there rebellione.

17 The Sondag being the 17 day, the bischop of Gal-  
loway preichit in the toun of Edinburgh, in St [Geilis]  
kirk. His sermont ye have hard before, at his enter-  
ing in the toun, being the viii of June, 1571.

23 Setterday, the 23 of June, 1571, the lard of Drum-  
langrike \* was tane, who before was desyrit to ryde  
hame for affairis betuixt him and the lord Hereis,  
trysting to meit him at the same place whare the lard  
of Wormestoun † had ane ambusch waiting for him,  
and so tuke the said Drumlanerik, with thrie or foure  
of his servantis, his sone escaping verie narrowlie, as  
also did young Apilgirth ‡. When he was broght  
within the castell, the captane said he was welcum,  
and wald have propyned him drink, But he said he  
wald neather eat nor drink till he knew the esteat of  
his sone, and therfore called for paper and ink, and  
caused ane to wryt on this maner, ‘ Willie, thou sall  
‘ wit that I am heall and feare ; send me word ther-  
‘ fore how thou art, whidder deid or livand : Gif  
‘ thou be deid, I doutt not that freindis will lat me  
‘ knowe the trueth ; and gif thou be weill, I desyre

\* Douglas of Drumlanrig, now Duke of Queensberry.

† Sir David Spence of Wormeston.

‡ Jardine of Applegirth ; an old family in Dumfries-shire.

na mair ! which bill he schaw vnto the captane, and the rest that plesit to reid within the place and prayed thame that his boy myght be savelie convoyit foorth of thea partis with the letter vnto his sone. In the meantyme he quyetlie gave his purs vnto the boy, and bad him give it to his sone ; and so be that meanis saved his purse.

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This day, or a day before, Jhone Cockburnis schip come in out of Flanderis, wherin was thrie kistis of of kalliveris ; in ilk kist 30 or 24 [40] peices ; four or fyve last of poulder, with some money in firkinis. Whidder it apperteaned to the merchantis or not I referre to them that knowis better then I.

At this tyme thair was ilk day pricking, some tane, hurt, and slane on both sydis.

Weddinsday, the 27 of June, young Drumlanrig, and Captane David Home, lying at the kirk of Libbertoun, waiting some folkis cuming in the toun, Pherniherst comes out of the toun to ryde hame, vnknewing to thame, whom they chased in to the toun agane, and Pherniherst verie narrowlie escapit himself ; and were not the hors was within the kirk sa that they culd not cum foorth heastelie, there had not a man escapit ; yit, as it was, they lowsit tuo of Drumlangrikis men, that were tane the day befoir, with the lard whome they purposed to have tane with thame.

27

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30

Setterday, the last of June, Jhone Chesome, came home in Jhone Downeis schip, wha landit his coffer at the Wemys, but after was tane be the diligence of Lord Lindsay \*, and his kist, with all that was therin. The gold that was in it, I referre to the receaveris; but it was thought to be the thing the quene myght furneis of hir drewry of France. The schip also was tane whairin thair was a last of poulder, foure or fyve hundret hagbuttis, and culveringis, with sic furnising apperteaning therto.

July  
3

On Tuysday, the 3 of Julij, 1571, Andro Lundie beand at dener with my maister, in a place of the lard of Abbotthalls, called Falsyde, openlie affirmet for treuth, that when the quene was lying in ieasing of the king, the Ladie Athole, lying thair lykwayis, bayth within the castell of Edinburgh, that he come thair for sum busines, and called for the Ladie Reirres, whome he fand in hir chalmer, lying bedfast, and he asking hir of hir disease, scho ans writ that scho was never so trubled with no barne that ever scho bair, ffor the Ladie Athole had cassin all the pyne of hir child-birth vpon hir †.

\* Lord Lindsay, one of the regent's adherents. He formerly made a conspicuous figure in the resignation of Mary's crown to her son.

† At this period an opinion was generally prevalent, that the Countess of Athole possessed the powers of incantation. Several

What was done betuixt the captane of the castle of Edinburgh and the laird of Garleis, wha offerit to fecht with the captane, that he was ane manifest traitor, I referre to the cartellis that passit betuixt them, be the which everie man may iudge whidder Grange be sic ane or not, as is said befoir the xij of June, 1571.

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On Weddinsday the 4 of Julij thair come in ane Frénche schip, with mony hagbuttis, and culveringis, and corslatis, with some money which the regentis folk gat. It was he that was tane before in Dumbartane, called Monsr Virak. Ther was mekle salpeter, and mony wrytingis, &c. Drumwhassel, vnknowing of the regent, and the counsall, tuke out, of the corslatis, and of the hagbuttis, and of the best of the calleveris, to the number of ane hunder of ilk ane, with sum of the salpeter, and send it to Stirveling; but the captanis folkis getting knowledge therof, went to the Queinis ferrie, and gat ane boit, and careit so mony of the corslatis as calliveris with them as they culd carie; the rest they cast ouer into the sea; this we see cumes of covetusnes.

allusions to it will be found in different works. It is probable that the countess here meant was Elizabeth, sister to the earl of Huntly. The earl of Athole, after her death, the particular time of which does not appear, married a daughter of Malcolm, Lord Fleming, and died 1579.

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7

Setterday, the 7 of July, the induelleris of Edinburgh, sic as remaned in the toun, come furth with thair new baillies, &c. about 3 or 4 hundert men, with tuo ensigneis, Patrik Thomsone bering one, and ane tailyeor, called Dewar, ane vther, which they of Leyth seing, come foorth also ; bot the vtheris schortlie reteired in agane. The captane schot thrie schot or foure of canone, whidder for blythnes of the tounis furth cuming or not, I can not tell. Also ane duple falcon being vpon the stiple heid, which the suddartis had baptised Knox, being schot the same tyme at the men that come furth of Leyth, brak in peices, and slew tua that was besyde, and hurt vtheris. This they gat for thair mocking of Godis servantis.

10 Tuysday, the tent of July, the men of weir of the toun come furth about Moutrayis, on the hill, with hors and fute men ; at which tyme the duelleris in the tovne of Edinburgh come out at the neather bow to the abbay, purposing, gif they myght, to have cutted them of : but the souldcartis vnder captane Michallis charge, with thair captane, met them half geat, and chased them in agane.

Fryday, the 13 day, in the nyght, they come furth of Edinburgh, at the neather bow, to assalyie the abbay, which, perceavit be thair sentrallis, schew the captane, wha forbad his to schute while they were verie neir, that they myght be sure to hit : and conti-

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newed togidder with grit schoting on both sydis a long tyme ; so that they that were duelleris in the canon-gait, were feared that they suld have gottin the abbay. Bot there trawell was in vaine, and so thair paines also : ffor ane of Captane Mitchallis suddartis devysit to open ane litle yeat or wicket, which they made at the grit vtter port of the abbay, to train thame in vnto the clos, and so to inclose them ; which wicket Captane Bruce's page perceaving to be open, cryes, ' they ' are all fled, the wicket is open ; ' whare they enterit ; but they of the abbay vaiting, slew tuo or thrie at the entrance, and hurt sundrie, so that they were compellit to tak the flyght, and so pat them in agane at the bow.

This same day, or elis this nyght, the lordis sent to Captane Michale ane copie of sumondis, with thair names that were sumoned to the parliament, desyring him, be sum meanis, to have conveyit it to the toune. This same nyght, efter this fact, the said captane caused his awin page gea with the letteris to the port, as thocht he had come fra Pherniherst, and cryed at the wallis vpon a boy of the said lairdis, wha was come with wrytingis, to whome they opened the portis, thinking the boy wold have entered ; but he givand the letteris to the first he gat, ran bak agane, calling thame traytoris, and schawing that it was the copie of

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July

the sumondis, which they suld give to the lordis; and in ane anger, they come furth of the port to overtake the boy: bot Captane Mitchaell having a certane appointed, dang them in agane; and so held them waikand all that nyght on this maner; so that at 5 horis in the morning, on the morne, the said captane, with ane clerk, proclaimed the saidis lettres at the crose of the cannogait, in thair dispyte, having certane hagbutteris lyand above, betuixt and the bow.

17

The 17 day captane Culan was beheadit, wha before was tane out of the amerie\*.

The same day the lord Lindsay, or the day preceeding, was lett at libertie vpon a sowme of money.

The day after the execution of Culan, Robert Cunnyngname, Jhone Hairat, Mungo Fairlie, who was baillie, and Thomas Broun, burges of Edinburgh, were apprehendit, and put on ane panall with ane Douglas, who come in to Edinburgh with tua laid of wheit, whome they condempned for the slaughter of a man that he had done 9 or 10 yeiris past, but he was not executed. The vther foure ware accused for the bringing of the Englismen in Scotland, and for the burning of Hamiltoun that same tyme, for the

\* This captain Cullen is said to have been a relation of the earl of Huntly; and on that account was probably treated with more rigour.



hanging of the suldartis at Brichen, and for beseidgene of the toвне at the parliament. Thrie come in will, but Robert Cunnyngname would not; and therefore was condempnit be ane assyse of Liddisdaill men for the most part \*.

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About this tyme ane pursevant being sent from the new erected aucturity in Edinburgh, to proclame the same in Jedburgh, was sufferit to reid his letteris till it come to this poynt, ' that the lordis assembled in ' Edinburgh had fund all thingis done, and proceed- ' it against the quene null, and that all men suld obey ' hir only.' When I say he had redd this farre, the prowest called . . . . . caused the pursevant cum down of the croce, and causit him eat his letteris : and thereafter lowsit dovne his poyntis, and gave him his vages vpon his bare buttockis with a brydle, thretning him, that gif ever he cum agane he suld lose his lyfe. Whairat Pherniherst being not a lytle displeased, boasted the whole tovn, wha gave him defyance.

On Sonday the 22 day at efter none, they come out of the toun both on hors and fute, whair thair

22

\* In the course of this work many trials and executions appear, of which no evidence remains in the criminal records of Scotland. These are defective indeed; but in several instances it is likely, that forfeiture in parliament, though the accused was not heard in defence, was considered a sufficient warrant for execution whenever the criminal could be apprehended.

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was grit skirmishing on the Gallowley. They were chased to the toun, bot no slaughter. As they were about the Gallowlie, ane cumis towardis the castell, crying, 'schute hiear, schut hiear, ye schut your awin men,' of whome they slew one.

24

The 24 day of July, Mr Cassa \*, the vnder merchall of Berwick come to Leyth. Na comfort be him to menteane the caus. A desyre of abstinence from armes without libertie to Edinburgh, to suspend the parliament for all vther causes, saving to name comissionaris on both sydis, to meit Englis comissionaris at Berwick about the 5 or 6 of August, to treat alsweill of the controversie of the crowne as vtherwayis.

25

The 25 of July ane grit canone, and ane gros culvering was tane out of the castell, down to the blackfreir wynd, to schut at the Abbay, as they did the samyn day abovt a 15 or 16 schot; but within thrie or foure dayis they war carryit agane to the castell for fear of tacking.

August  
2

Thurisdai the secund of August, after they come foorth of Edinburgh, they were chased in agane: the horsmen war chased about the castell till S<sup>t</sup> Cuthbert kirk, and the fute men in at Leyth wynd, where tuo of the regentis suldeartis were tane of thame of Edinburgh, as they were breking vp doores for to spoile.

\* Mr Cais.

On the morne, thair was ane skyrmis, and mony straikis gewin on both sydis, betuixt the horsmen. But at lenth the castle men were chased athort Halkerstone's croft and till S<sup>t</sup> Cuthbertis kirk, whare was ane band of hagbutteris for there relief. Bot yit there were taken ten or twelve horsmen. The principalis that were taken, Garthlie, Mr Jhone Guordoun, Robert Bruce, sone to the laird of Arthe : ane of Carnekes, called Ramsay : sindrie hors both hurt and slane. All the tyme of thir skirmishis, the castell never ceases the ringing of hir canones, which hes done no harme to ony of the kingis folk, albeit there bulatis wald licht amonges the myddis of the cumpaneis : whairin we see the grit work of God.

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The sext of August, Monsieur Viret, the French man, who befor was tane come to S<sup>t</sup> Androis to be wairdit or remane.

6

The Generall Assemblie of the kirk, held in Stirveling the fyft of this moneth ; but the most part of the affairis therof were continewed to the parliament, whilk also was continewed till the 25 of this moneth to be in Stirveling.

Thurisdai the 9 of August, 1571, there suld have bene a fyght betwene Apilgyrth and Wormeston, 25 on the syde : bot Wormeston refused to fyght in thair actione, bot requyred gif Apilgyrth had ony actione against him, and so it stayed.

9

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13

Fryday the x day, Apilgyrth was taken.

On Monunday the 13 day, iiij or v<sup>xx</sup> of men of Edinburgh were forfeited be the castell.

18      Setterday the 18 of August, the rectore of S<sup>t</sup> Androis, called Mr Jhone Douglas, was made bischope of S<sup>t</sup> Androis.

23      Thurisday the 23 of August, the lord Lyndsay was chosen lievtenant in Leyth, till the regentis returne fra the parliament.

26      Setterday 26 of August, Coldingknowis with the horsmen convoyed 30 hagbutteris to Jedburgh.

28      Tuysday the 28 day Monsieur Virack, wha was left in S<sup>t</sup> Androis vpon his awin promise, and ayth was tane from thence be the lard of Wormistoun, with Robert Balfoure, and tuo brether of the laird of Clatteis, to the number of a 20 hors, whair of 6 or 8 came about this toun, and reseaved the said Virak, who went out with ane hauke or meryellone, as thocht he had been going to hauke. Some of thir horsmen went to the Strudder, whair they tuke 3 fair gealdings of the lord Lyndsayis, and wer in the laird of Clatties place all nyght with the said hors, whairfore it is thocht that his brether were the tackeris of thame.

This same Tuysday the 28 of August, 1571, was the first day of the parliament in Stirveling, where the kingis grace in proper persone was put, and spak thir wordis with his awin mouth : ‘ Me lordis, and

‘ ye vther true subiectis, we are conveinit heir as I  
 ‘ vnderstand to minister iustice; and becaus my eage  
 ‘ will not suffer me to exerce my charge my self, be  
 ‘ reasone of my youth, I have gewin power to my  
 ‘ gudschir as regent and tutor to me, and you to as-  
 ‘ sist him therin, as ye will answir to God and me  
 ‘ heirefter.’

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They of the castell of Edinburgh lykwayis appoint-  
 ed there parliament about this same tyme, and made  
 there forefaltoris as they pleasit, both vpon lordis,  
 lardis, gentlemen and burgesses, a grit number.

About this tyme, the 27 of August, the lordis with-  
 in the toun sent a letter to William Harlaw, minister,  
 the tenour whair of followis :

My lordis, lievtendants, and lordis of secreit coun-  
 sall, ordanis ane meassour or vther officiare of armes,  
 to pas and charge William Harlaw, minister, at S<sup>t</sup>  
 Cuthbertis kirk, to pray for the quenis maiestie, our  
 soverane ladie, in all and sindrie, his sermondis and  
 prayeris, after the forme and tenour of the Act of  
 Parliament made theranent, with certificatione to him  
 and he contravene the samin, he sall incure the paines  
 conteaned therintill, and be puneist with all rigor.  
 James Hamiltoun, Huntly.

Vpon this same day, the horsmen of Edinburgh, to  
 the number of 200 horsmen or therby, and about a  
 hundret futmen hagbutteris, went to the lord Lynd-

1571 sayis place the Byiris, and took all his cattell, about  
August iiij<sup>xx</sup> quye and oxin, with some pure menis hors and  
vther beastis, which were broght in to the towne of  
Edinburgh, at the which tyme, or elis within fowre or  
fyve dayis efter, they went agane purposing to de-  
molis the said place : but it being provydit with sum  
hagbutteris, as they approched, sum left thair car-  
caseis behind, and vtheris were tane, whairby that in-  
terpryse come not to pas.

30 Thurisday the penult of August, about tuo or thrie  
after nyne, they of Edinburgh cvme furth hors and  
fute, having vii or viii<sup>xx</sup> of horsmen ; and they of  
Leyth also sorted, and efter some skirmissing, there  
were but small skayth on eather syde ; but the towne  
men were put be force in to Edinburgh. They of  
Leyth hoping for no further for that nyght reteired ;  
and as they were at the entering in of Leyth, they  
come all furth agane out of Edinburgh, being incorag-  
ed be a new fresh cumpany, who were ewin then come  
within Pherniherst and Balcleugh, to the number of  
viii<sup>xx</sup> hors or therby, wha come dovne vpon them of  
Leyth for thair new entres. After consultatione, the  
lord Lyndsay, with the advise of the captanis, put  
thame selvis in order, and the suddeartis (after their  
flaskis wer filled with poulder, which a litle befoir  
they had all spendit) went forwart with thair hors-  
men (wha were but a 45), and after thair speirmen,

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whair they met at the calsay, and skirmished till the poulder of the suldertis was spent, and after ioynit the tuo battellis whair thair was no litle fight, till at last God causit [thane of] Edinburgh turne bakis, and sua were chased in at the portis. And tuo ensenyeis of Leyth come to the neather bow, whair captane Lambie was almost tane, and releivit be William Harlaw : also the tutor of Pitcurre, who is coronare, was tane at the port vpon horsback, thinking that his awin cumpaneis were following, who being so veirrie and also so dyrk nyght, myght not see, for it was weill half howre to nyne befoir they had endit thair chase. Thare were tane of Edinburgh, about iij or iiij<sup>xx</sup> suldartis, and ane dosone of horsmen or gentlemen, and sua the tounis men were jhalelie come furth, and a great mony slaine. Some alledges that Sir James Balfour also was tane, but I hard no word of it of suretie, therfoir I omit it. One Storie, the ranckest theif in Annerdaill, was tacken and thrie with him, who confessit that he had tane ane load of butter and ane of cheis fra a pure man not tuo houris before. The same Storie confessit that about 8 dayis befoir, he tuke at the hous of the mvre or thairabout, ane hors, of a pure man, wha defending him self and his hors he slew : and being persewed and followed be ane vther young man, he so trayned the young man be fair wordis, saying, that gif the hors were a pure manis,

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that he wuld rander him agane, and so causit him cum into ane hous, whome after he tuik, and cariet him to the castell of Edinburgh, whare he layis in ironis. This I write, that men may know what ane hous that is now become, to wit, ane resett of all mischeif, reif, and spoile.

*The gentlemen barronis and vther protestantis within this realme, to the regentis grace, wishis to him and his honorable counsall all felicitie, with the spreit of ryghteous iudgment.*

We doubt not but your grace and honorable counsall, has found and findis fault with us, that we have bene absent fra the kingis service in our owin persones, at thir appointit quarteris at Leith, whair intill our awin conscience vald accuse vs, onles we had a sufficient defence afor God and man: which is, that we dare not ioyne our selvis in hasarde with the professed enemeis of Christis Evangle. We call not onlie such as by oppin hostilitie makis warre against the frie preaching of the same, (as now a dayis the traytoris that occupie the castle and towne of Edinburgh), but enemeis to Christ Jesus, we call all such as directlie or indirectlie goe about to deface the ministrie of his blissed evangle; of which cryme, in our conscience, we neather can nor dare excuse your government, nor yet your counsall; for what can be a



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more reddie way to banis Christ Jesus from vs, and from our posteritie, nor to fameis the ministeris present, and tyranicallie so to impyre above the pure flock, that the kirk sal be compellit to admitt dvme dogis to the office, dignitie, and rentis appointed for sustentatione of prieching pastors, and for vther godlie vses, in which cryme the whole world may see your government, and the nobilitie ioynd with you and with the kingis service sa drowned, that such as luke not for a sudden plauge (vnles speadie repentance prevent Godis iudgment), are moir nor blind. For as tuiching the conditione of our ministeris present, it is moir miserable nor the conditione of a beggare, for beggaris have fredome without reprufe to begg ower all. But our pure ministeris, bound to their charge, are compelled to keip their hous, and with dolorous heartis, sie ther wyves, childrene, and familie, starve for hunger; and that, becaus your government and greedie wasteris violentlie reaves and inustlie consumes, that which iust law and gud order has appointed for thair sustentatione, to wit, the thriddis of benefices, which are now so abused, that God can not long delay to powre furth his iust vengeance for this proud contempt of his servantis, whairof we crave hastie and suddan redres. The secund caus that moves vs, that neather we can ioyne with your government, nor yet with your counsall, is, 'that we sie sic a cor-

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May

ruptione begvne and appearing to procéid, that unles it be stayed be tyme, we sall give iust occasiōe to our posteritie to curs our negligence and silence, yea to curs our barbarous creweltie committed against them: for what sall our childrene iudge of us; whom God has illuminat miraculously, vnder whose feet he has tred down Sathan, with idolatrie and the menteaneris of the same, and has granted to us such lycht and libertie of his blissed evangell, as never realme nor natione received the gritter, yea not the lyke, since the days of the Apostles of Jesus Christ; gif we (we say,) to whom God has schawin such graces and benefites, sall eather envye thame to our children, or yit suffer thame to be suppresit in our default, can we eather be excused of rebellione against God, or yet be absolved of cruell murthering of our awin childrene. God commandis, that the fatheris teach the true feare of God to their childrene and posteritie, and nature craves that we have ane speciale care of thair temporall and eternall saluatione; our selvis we know mortall and suddanlie tending to the grave, and so unable to remane to schaw to our childrene the wonderous workis of our God in our dayis: and your government and the nobilitie (fightand with you against traytoris we grant), goe about to cut off from our posteritie, the fontane of leving wateris, the true and frie preiching of the blissed Evangle of Jesus Christ; for, whillis that Erles

and Lordis becumis bishopsis, and abbotis gentlemen :  
courteoris, babes, and persones vnable to guyde them  
selvis, are promoted be you to sic benefices as requyre  
learned preachoris ; when sic enormiteis are fostered  
we say, what a face of a kirk sall we look for or it  
be lang within this realme. We, without boasting of  
our selvis, man speik the trueth befor God, your go-  
vernment, and the whole world, which is, from the  
begining of this actione we have servit without sute of  
vther reward, than to have the pure kirk of Christ  
Jesus set at fredome, and so to remane to our poste-  
ritie ; whair of perceaving our selvis to be vterlie disa-  
poynted, we dar not promise service as heretofore we  
have done ; for we are not ignorant of the mutuall  
contract that God hes placed betwixt the supreme  
powar and the subiectis. Beseikand therefore your  
grace and counsall to have sic respect to the foir-  
saidis enormiteis, that iust occasione be not offered to  
ys and vtheris to be moir cauld in the kingis majesteis  
service, than heirtofore we have bene. And your  
graces answer maist humblie we beseik.

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August

*Ane vther Letter, written to the Generall Assemblie.*

Belovit brethrene, thinke it not strange although  
we frequent not your assemblies, publict or particu-  
lare, as heirtofore we have done, sae lang as on ap-  
perence rested, that be you and your faythfull laboris,

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wice suld be brydled, vertue menteanet and promoted, we never irked for ony panes. But perceaving corruptione so fast to grow (which to your selves is not hid) we have rather chosen in secreit to myrne, and absent our selves fra all conventiones, then to be present with you, whair neather our voite can stay the corrupt affectiones of men to tak place, nor can our counsall further ony gud actione, but rather we have espyed that our presente with you in sum assemblies (especiallie in this last haldin at Stirveling), hes bene a patrociny to cloak the impietie of sic as never meaning weill to the kirk, in the end sall destroy it, and the fredome of the same; and therefore, gif ye find fault with our absence in times to cum, blame your selvis, that banis from you theis men that most earnestlie have desyred, and yit desyre, your prosperitie in God.

And so at this parliament, becaus the petitiones of the kirk were contempned, and the ministeris called proud knavis, with other iniurious wordis, be the lordis, for suteting of thair libertie, yit the povre regent approvit their petitionis, and acknowledged thame to be most ressonable, and was willing to further the same; but the lordis, Mortoun in speciale who rewled all, said he suld lay thair pryde, and put ordour to thame, with mony other iniurious wordis,

The superintendent of Fyfe inhibited the rector of St Androis to voit as ane of the kirk, till he suld be admitted be the kirk, under the paine of excomunice-  
 tion: Mortoun comandit him to voit (as bischope of St Androis) vnder the paine of treassone.

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 August

Certain articles were sent from England to the lordis, to send sum comissioneris to Berwick to treat vpon them.

The fourt of September they of Edinburgh, horsmen and futmen (and, as was reported, the most part of Clidisdaill that perteanit to the Hamiltonis), come to Stirveling the number of iij or iiij<sup>c</sup> men on hors back, guydit be ane George Bell. Thair hagbutteris, being all horsed, enterit in Stirveling be fyve houris in the morning (whair thair was never one to mak watche) crying this slogane, *God and the Quene ; ane Hamiltoun ; think on the bishop of St Androis ; all is oures* : And so a certaine come to everie grit manis ludgene, and apprehendit the lordis Mortoun and Glencarne ; but Mortounis hous they set on fyre, wha randerit him to the laird of Balcleugh. Wormestoun being appointed to the regentis house, desyred him to cum furth, which he had no will to doe, yet be the persuasione of Garleis and vtheris with him, thought it best to come in will, nor to byde the extremitie, becaus they supposed there was no resistance ; and swa the regent come furth, and was ran-

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 4

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Sept.

dered to Wormestoun, vnder promise to save his lyfe. Captane Crawford being in the town, gat sum men out of the castell, and other gentlemen being in the town, come as they myght best to the geat, chased them out of the toun. The regent was schot by ane Captane Cader, wha confessed that he did it at commande of George Bell, wha was comandit so to doe be the Lord Huntlie and Claud Hamiltoun. Some sayis that Wormistoun was schot be the same schot that slew the regent, but alwayis he was slane, notwithstanding the regent cryed to save him; but it culd not be, the furie was so grit of the persewaris who following so fast. The lord of Mortoun said to Balcleuch, I sall save you as ye savit me, and so he was tane. Garleys and sindrie vtheris were slane at the port in the persute of thame. Thair were ten or twelve gentlemen slane of the kingis folk, and als mony of theris or mea, as was said, and a dosene or xvi tane. Twa especiall servandis of the Lord Argyles were slane also. This Cader that schot the regent was once turned bak off the tovne, and was send agane (as is said) be the Lord Huntlie to cause Wormistoun retire, but before he come agane he was dispatched, and had gottin deides woundis.

The regent being schot, as said is, was brought to the castell, whair he callit for ane phisitione, one for his soul, ane vther for his bodie. But all hope of lyfe

was past, for he was schot in his entrealles. And sua, after sum thingis spockin to the lordis, which I know not, he departed in the feare of God, and made a blissed end: whilk the rest of the lordis that thought thame selvis hiest, and lyttle regardit him, sall not mak so blissed ane end, unles they mend their maneris.

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Upon Tuysday, the first day of the parliament, the king sitting in his chaire of honor, and his rob royall upon him, luiking up above his head, and seing ane hole in the tolbuith, said, “there is ane hole in this parliament,” whilk alace was ower sune verefeit in the end.

Upon Sondag before this tumult, Mr Jhone Rowe preiched, wha in plane pulpet pronounced to the lordis, for thair covetusnes, and becaus they wold not grant the iust petitiones of the kirk, Godis heastie vengeance to fall upon them; and said, morover, ‘I cair not, my lordis, your displeasour; for I speik my conscience befoir God, wha will not suffer sic wickitnes and contempt vnpunished.’ But he was called a realer and vther iniurious wordis; whilk never man wald think that sic speaches suld proceid out of the mouthes of them, that had anes professed Christis Evangle: bot how God wrought vpon the Tuysday after, ye have hard. When God takkis away the grene treis, let the widdered bewar.

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Within ten dayis after, the lordis went and chosed ane new regent ; and there was put in leitis, Argyle, Mortoun, and the lord of Marre ; wha be moniest voitis was chosen regent, and so continewed the parliament.

The names of theis that were forfalted the penult of August, 1571 :

James Duck,  
George erle Huntlie,  
Adam Gordoun,  
Sir William Kirkaldie of Grange, knyght,  
Sir James Balfour,  
Gilbert and Robert Balfoure,  
Robert Melvin of Curry,  
David and Andro Melving,  
David Seatoun of Parbrothe,  
Alexander Creichton of Drylay,  
Thomas Ker of Phernihierst,  
Jhone Hamiltoun, comendator of Arbroth,  
Jhone Hamiltoun of Kilbowie,  
The bischop of Dunkell,  
Abirdene, Murray, and Galloway, bischopis,  
James Borthuik, son to Michael Borthuik,  
James Bothuik of Colila,  
George Barklay of that ilk,  
Jhone Cranstoun of Morstoun,  
William Baillie of Carmistoun,



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David Spens of Wormistoun,  
Jhone Maitland of Achingassil, younger,  
Jhone Hamiltoun of Priestfeld,  
Thomas Ker of Kavert,  
Mr Alexander Hamiltoun, vicar of Kilburnye,  
Harbart Maxwell, burges of Edinburgh,  
Mr Jhone Moscrop and his son Patrick,  
Robert Gurlay, the duckis servant \*.

On Friday the last of August, 1571, efter the forfaltour, come in to the parliament the lordis Argyle, Cassilis, Montgumrie, Boyde, and sheref of Ayre, ytheris sindrie lairdis of thair retinewe. Upon this day the kirk gave in thair articles, the effect whairof were, that all benefices suld be gewin to qualifeit personis, which qualificatioun suld be tryed be the kirke; 2. that it suld [not] be lesome to sett in few gleibis and mansses, but that they suld be disponit and occupeit be them that preiches the word; 3. that incest and vther grivous crymes suld be punised.

\* This sentence by parliament was followed by forfeiture of the whole property of the individual, which was generally transferred to some person of power or interest. Thus the earl of Morton obtained the escheat, as it is called, of the bishop of Dunkeld, the lands of Grange, 4000 merks of Lord Fleming's property; Lord Lyndsay the confiscation of Secretary Maitland and Spence of Wormeston; Lord Semple that of the archbishop of St Andrews; and in the same way with others. These things had a strong tendency to preserve the mutual animosities which then prevailed.

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The next Sunday, beand the 2 of September, Mr Jhone Row preiched (as is said), and was opprobriously vsed, and called ane rayler, a seditious knaif; and the rest of the ministeris, for true dealing in the kirkis affairis, were baptised with the lyk or wors names.

- 4 Upon Tuysday the 4 of September, Godis hand struik, as said is, the sillie regent slane, beand schot be ane called Cader, captan of ensignie to the Hamiltonis band, be comand gewin befoir so to doe, be the lord Huntlie and Claud Hamiltoun, whilk be confessed befoir he was put to death, bot still denyed that he schot the regent, till a smyth proved it in his face, and then he confessit it.

Two or thrie dayis after the regentis slaughter, the lordis present for the time in Styrveling elected the lord of Mar to be regent, who being in leittis with Argyle and Mortoun, be pluralitie of voitis was elected regent.

- 7 The 7 of September, and the last day of the parliament (which the lordis endit furth, notwithstanding the regentis death), the king in proper persone come to the tolbuith, and be the touching of the scepter did ratifie all thingis done befoir.

- 8 Upon Satturday the 8 of September, Peter Donaldsone, a suldeart and man of Edinburgh, was hanged

in Leyth, wha had conspired to betray the toun, and was tane as he was going to Edinburgh.

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Sept.

The 10 day my lord of Mar, being now made regent, come to Leyth, to put order to the affairis thair (whair the lord of Mortoun was proclaimed cheif lievteneant), and returned agane to Stirveling the 15 day.

10

The xi day Captane of Haliburtoun suld have been executed in Edinburgh, had it not bene that the lord Lyndsay (who getting knowledge therof be ane letter sent to Jhone Brand, minister) tuik the prowtest of St Androis, and the laird of Munwhanye, who befor had bene sumoned to Leith, for being absent fra the readis; and, as God provydit, come the nyght befor that the said Haliburtoun suld have suffered.

11

*The copie of the bill sent to Jhone Brand, minister.*

Brother, after my comendationes in the Lord Jesus, this is to let you wit, that I am delyvered this day in the lord of Huntleys handis, and the morne I traist sum scharpnes salbe vsed towardis me; therefore I pray you, in the name of the Lord, that ye wilbe heir the morning, that I may have sum spirituall comfort, before God sall call me to his merceis out of this transitorie lyfe. Referring the rest to your cuming, I remitt you to God. At Edinburgh the 10 of September, 1571, thus subscrivit,

James Haliburtoun.

1571  
Sept.

About this tyme word cumes to the regent and lordis, being in Leyth, that the duck of Northfolkis secretarie was tacking at New Castle cuming to the castle of Edinburgh with a 25000 crounes; be whome the conspiracie against the quene of England was revealed; vpon the which the said duck was put agane in the toure of London, and our quene moir straitlie kepit. It is spoken, that the duck has ane vilat \* that the castle of Edinburgh suld have bene put in French menis handis, or to be keped to their behove, in pledge whair of the said duckis sone suld have gone to France, as is thought, yet is a gatewardis gif he be not there alreddie; for the whilk the Frenchis suld furneis them of Edinburgh of money; and for this purpose Mr Virak come in Scotland, and takis monie fra sum merchantis heir, to be payit beyonde the sea. God confound the devyses of the wicked.

Efter, the meting of the parliament, proclamationes wer made through the realme to cum to Leyth with fourtie dayis victuall, to seige the toun of Edinburgh; whilk knawin to the tovne, they spoyled the cuntrie about, and brought in sum cattell they culd get about the toun: this they did upon Sondag the 23 of September.

Tuysday the 18 of September, George Auchinleck

\* This is unintelligible. Can it be an error for *revelit*.

come to Kinghorne, and went aburde on Williame Sibbatis shipp, whair thair was the young laird of Trabrowne, and ane vther called Borthick, sone to Michael Borthuik, that is forfaltit, who were bound to France ; but he tuik thame and thair wrytingis also. The said Sibbat suld have bene puneist for fals hard heides.

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Sept.

The nobilitie and esteatis of this realme of Scotland, presentlie convenit in parliament at Striveling, in the feir of God and the lauchfull obedience of the king our soverane lord, to all persons now remaining in the burgh and castell of Edinburgh, the vii of September, 1571.

Albeit we might lay furth before your eyes particularlie, how evill ye have deservit of the comone wealth of this your native countrie, whairin ye were borne, in that ye have been verie instrumentis and occasione bayth of your awin truble and punishment, and also of the grit calamitie of your whole countrie and pure people thereof hes and daylie dois sustene through this vnnaturall and civile discorde ; yet, not meaning to irritate you be repetitione of thingis vnpleasand, whilk to our greif are over mony, and whairof we doubt not your awin conscience accuses you, bot rather intending be geving you this holsome admonitione, to discharge vs first to God and men before the world, that we have socht you to be wyn,

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Sept.

whair throw in case be your awin obstinat wilfulnes, ye taist the vtermost of the plague and punishment, it may be ryghtlie adiudged to be in your awin default. This consideratione hes movit vs to this letter, to requyre you to considder your selfis in comone and everie one in particular, the grund and circumstance of the caus and quarrel that ye pretend, your awin present conditione, with whom it is ye contend, and what probablie mon be the end of all. The grund is tuiching the deprivatione of the king our soverane lord fra his croun and royall authoritie, dyvers tymes intendit be some of you, and yit be Godis providence alwayis disapointted, for caus amongis you are men that were als earnest to promote it as ony vtheris, and be the same dyvers of you acquyred honor, gude report and benefite. Bot sen ye reiected his hienes obedience, ye have fund your reward, reproche, obloquie, and skayth, and your intentis oftymes frustrat. As to your oppressione in that tovne whair the seat of justice suld remane for the weill of the whole subiectis, ye have not onlie therby depauperat the inhabitantis of the tovne, bot hes made your selfis contemptible to this whole natione, and now ye haif to lay your compt whidder, the few number of you remaning their sall conquest and overthrow vs all, or gif be liklieheid we be not more able to mak you conformable. Your contentione is for displassing of the king our soveran lord,

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Sept.

some of you being the chief instrumentis of his promotione, and the greatest part of you all, having promeist and sworn obedience to him. He is, ye see, the rysing starre, and shortlie wil be able, God willing, to discerne this quarrell him self be cowrs of age ; and the end man be, eather he to be obeyed and peace and iustice restored in this comone wealth, or then the force of you now compassed within that toвне and castle man vndoe him, whois subiectis we profess our selfis to be ; and so, consequentlie, exterminate vs and our posteritie. What grund ye build on in your interpryse, or what certaintie ye can luik for, or the cours ye ryn, lat everie ane of you consider be him self, and look vpon the inconvenientis of this weir gif it will continew ; and of the fructes that peace and iustice wald bring. Call also to your remembrance, the desolatione that hes bene in vther regionis of Europe nixt vnto us thir-leat yeiris, throw weiris alsweill forrane as intestine, and yet are the same at this day for the most part quieted and ppeace restored, eather be victorie or elis the waikest hes yielded to tolerable conditiones. Tak heid whidder ye menteane that caus be your awin proper force or not, or what habilitie ye had to contend in it, gif the kingis hous and munitiones were not at your devotion. To be schort, this realme may no longer sustene this contempt, rebellione, and confused steat : Bot eather mon the king our soverane

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Sept.

lord and his authoritie be obeyit, that toun of Edinburgh set at libertie, and the seat of iustice restored to the vniversall comoditie and ease of the subiectis, or then mon we give ower lyvis and imploy our substance and freindis in the querrall, and as we have orderlie procedit heritofore be law against you, sa befoir the iust execution therof, which we can not nor may not leive vndone, we have thought meit to give you this admonitione, that ye may in tyme eschew the eminent perrell and danger approching, which advise and ye follow, then will we travell so farre as in vs sall lye for your releif and savetie ; and gif our admonitione beis reiected, then we protest, that as ye your selvis hes bene and are the occasione of all the evill and extremitie that hes followed your obstinacie and contempt ; so, whatsoever harme or inconvenience happen to ony of us in prosecutione of this iust caus, that our bludes and skeath be requyrit at your handis and posteriteis.

27

This bill was delyvered in the castle, and gewin in Lethingtounis awin hand, in presence of thair counsall, the 27 of September, be Robert Duglas, brother to the lard of Whithinghame, and servand to the Lord of Mortoun. After dener, the said Robert returned to Leyth, and within two or thrie houris after tuk bed, and on the third day departed this miserie. Let



men iudge whidder ony Italian craft \* hes been vused  
or not.

1571  
Nov.

*A copie of a letter given in be the ministeris and toun of  
Edinburgh, to the secreit counsall within the castell.*

Vnto my lordis lievtenentis and lordis of the secreit  
counsall, humblie meanis and schawis, the ministeris,  
elderis, and deaconis of this burgh of Edinburgh;  
That, whair Robert Cunynghame burges of the said  
burgh, hes bene certain yeiris bygane our collector for  
the vptaking of the annual rentis, and freiris rentis of  
this tovne, gevin be our soverane ladie for the sustean-  
ance of the ministrie, and hes the evidentis of the  
saidis annualrentis in his keping, and is now to de-  
part off this tovne. Whairfore we beseik your lord-  
ships, that we may haif ane charge to the prowest and  
baillies to call him before them, that compt and  
reckoning may be made, and sic order put thereto on  
his departing, as aperteinis; and your lordships answer  
maist humblie we beseik. Apud Edinburgh, 26  
Septembris 1571.

The lordis lievtenantis and secreit counsall ordainis  
the prowest and baillies of Edinburgh, to tak sic  
order with Robert Cunynghame as accordis to  
reason, conforme to the desyre of this bill.

HUNTLE.

\* Poison.

1571  
Sept.

The next day, or schortlie therafter, was tane Monsieur Virakis servand with ane Hamiltoun, and there wrytingis were gottin that were send to the King of France, declaring the steat of the castle and towne, and of the factiones amongis thame: desyring that two hundreth hagbutteris myght be sent thame: bot yit (said Virakis lettre), he knew not how they myght be convoyed saiflie, neather how thair lives suld be preservit gif they were thair. Also he schew how that thair steat was rather wors than better, becaus of the regentis slaughter: with dyveris vther things small to their proffeit.

29

The 29 of September, Pherniherstis vyfe \*, with Mr Jhone Moscropis vyfe, ryding furth of Edinburgh, (being convoyed with 14 or 15 men, whois names after followes), to the place of Pherniherst, meits the laird of Carmichall, who had with him bot 9 or 10 hors at the most, and perceaving the castle men better horst nor he was, thought best to charge them first; bot the vtheris thinking Carmichall had bene farre mea in cumpany, tuik the flight, wha luiking bak saw them selvis chasit with sa few, turnes and charges upon Carmichall and his cumpany, and so continewed till spearis were brocken and dagis dischargit on eather syde, and after lychted and faucht on fute till they both rested upon their swordis: callit ilk

vtheris traytoris. Bot two men be chance cuming neir by, wha were of the kingis partie, and knawen Carmichell, (wha as sum alledged was almost randerit), cryed with a shout, ‘ fye, lay vpon the traytoris,’ and so the vther were randerit; few or nane on eather syde unhurt; the most part evill woundit.

1571  
Sept.

The names of them that were tane :

Alexr. Sandelandis, sone to Jhone Sandelandis of Midlerig.

Robert Melving, sone to the lard of Carnebie.

David Meldrum, sone to the lard of Segie.

Robert Hamiltoun, cutlare in Edinburgh.

Edward Jhonstone, servand to the Lord Home.

Robert Robertown, the lard of Ernochis sone.

Patrik Ogilvie, son to Archd. of Bagavie.

James Borthik of Colelaw.

Mathou Dair, sone to the laird of Kinhilt.

James Oliphant. Which with the former were lat goe to Edinburgh to be cured, upon promise to enter ayde.

David Swintoun, servant to the Lord Home.

Harie Crichtoun, sonne to the lard of Newhall.

David Robertstone, servant to the Capten of the Castell.

Ane or twa escapit by flicht, the rest were brought to Dalkeyth, and so to Leyth.

1571  
June

Before that Carmichell had yockit with the foir-saidis, he chanced to meit ane Englis man, wha said he was seikand service; to whome Carmichell said, ‘yonder our enemeis, gif thou sall prove the man ‘thou salbe rewarded;’ who bure gud hand and did his part, and sua gat ane prisoner at his entres, who confessit he never sawe a thing so stronglie foughtin in both parteis as this meiting was.

Ane day or tuo befoir this, Robert Duglas that duelt, with my lord of Mortoun, and broder to the larde of Wittinghame, ane esteamed the best and trewest to the king of that hous, went to Edinburgh, convoying the said Pherniherstis vyfe; and efter dinner in the castell, returning to Leyth, tuke his bed, and within tuo dayis died. Whither he gat a possedie or not God mak it knowin, for he swellit efter his death.

October  
4

The fourt of October, 1571, the Regent come to Leyth, accompanied with 4000 men: the artealyearie come be see foorth of Stirveling. God for his Sone Christis saik blis thair interpryse, and put that povre towne to libertie, oppressed with murtheraris and traytoris both to God and man, and to thair awin countrie.

8

The viii day, the pioneris begouth to cast the trinchis: some vpon Craigengate, some about the Wasport, and so the 9 day the seidge begouth.

Monunday, which was the viii day, came in captane Cais, and ane captane Bricoll \*, who is thocht to be a man earnest in this cause, and beiris a gude will to the advancement of the kingis part, with whome there ware letters fra the quene of England, to the castell thus in effect. That the Secretar and larde of Grange had written to her for knowing of her vtter mynd, whither scho wold planelie tak vpon hir in mentean-<sup>1571</sup>  
<sup>October</sup>ance of the king in this caus or not? Sensyne scho hes labored be all meanes possible, to have had the quene reponit to hir formare steat be advyse of the nobilitie for the kingis part, and to thair contentement gif it were possible : bot in the meantyme, scho hes perceaved the Scottis quene to vse sic pernicious prætises with the Pope and vther forrane princes, as with hir awin subiectis of England, as tendis manifestlie to the subuersione of the kingis estate, his nobilitie, and religione of this realme, and also to the pulling of the croun off hir awin heid ; sa that scho can not, nor will not no longer travell in hir cause, but will menteane and assist the king of Scottis, his crowne and caus, as scho will doe hir awin : and therefore desyris thame to rander the castell and toвне to the king and

\* In a dull poem, *The Sege of the Castle of Edinburgh*, are enumerated the names, and the feats of some of the most renowned officers, both Scottish and English, attached to the king's party.

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October

his regent but delay, vtherwayis, scho will schortlie help to recover it be force, and scho hir self wilbe oblist to be thair suretie for there lyves, landis, and rentis. And also that scho had written hir answir and excuse to the king of France.

This being delyvered to the castell on Tuysday, the answir was delayed till Thurisday. In this mean tyme James Cunynghame, brother to the lard of Drumquhassil, (who before was sent to England efter the regentis slaughter) comes from London with a fair bill fra the quene of England, direct to the regentis grace, praising God of his electione to the regiment, assuring hir self thair culd none vther bene chosen therto, that the whole nobilitie culd all so weill agrie with. Therefter accuses the ingratitude of the Scottis quene in the same termes almost as in the former letter, declaring lykewayis to him, that scho will menteane the stait of religione heir as scho will doe hir awin crowne, stait, and religione of hir awin realme; and to that effect, nathing sall wante that sall seame necessar therto; and that tyme sall not be protracted be long iourney to London and court, scho hes send downe hir cosing the lord Hunisdown, governor of Berwick, to remane thair sufficientlie instructed with hir resolute mynd in all thir materis.

Maister Caise receavit his answir dilatour fra the cas-

1571  
October

bles behalf. That the nobilitie assistand to thair part were not present, and they that were there, the Duck, and the erle Huntlie had not thair counsalloris and freindis present, without whome they culd not resolve in sa wechtie a mater; bot how sone they myght be gudlie had with tyme they suld direct answir.

With this answir Mr Cais departed to Berwick on Fryday thereafter, and with him the said James Cunynghame, for men, money, and munitione.

All this tyme there was no small truble in the north partis, betuixt them that susteaned the part of the king and them that were for the quene, whilk was Adam Gordone, Huntleis brother and his assisteris, and all that wald doe for the lord Huntlie, wha assembled all thair forces they myght be, to invaid the Forbesses who was for the king, and (as was reported) to cum vpon the Mernes as they have done befoir, and so to Dundie, to truble all the kingis true lieges, that wald not assist to thair factione, to the end they myght skail the seage about Edinburgh. Bot the Forbesses gathered to the number of 300 men or therby, at the place of [Tul-lie Angus]; and the Gordones being about 1000 men, cumand fordwart, caused but a part of thair men to appeir, to cavs the vtheris to cum fordwart moir bauld-lie, and pat the rest in ambushe. And so Arthure Forbes, me lordis brother, principall vpon that part for the tyme, seing the enemeis sa few (not consider-

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October

ing the ambush), ioynes with the formest, and thereafter the vther cumis fordwart, and so pat the Forbesses to flicht, whair ware slane the said Arthure, and xii or xvi men, and William the lordis secund sone tane with vther xvi men. Of the vther were slane about 22. This was done on Weddinsday the 17 of October.

21 In this mean tyme, the regent, with the rest lyand about the toun, at the South wall, whair they dang downe 40 or 50 fute of it; but in the nyght it was rainforced and filled vp agane be thame of the toune; and so remaining till the 21 of this instant, they returned agane to Leyth after mydnyght, whair of mony was affrayed becaus of thair suddan lifting of the camp: for it was spokken that they suld have brashed the wall whair thair batter was made. Bot the pieces within the toun stellit in S<sup>t</sup> Geilis kirk yard, and vpon the kirk of feild condempnit the ordinance without, so that they caused thame retire thair ordinance, and schot throw the regent pavillione, but (praised be God) did no hurt. Thare were slane in the camp not passing ten or twelve. In the towne I know not, bot, as was reported, tuys as monie. Cuthbert Fergusell of the Canogait was the principall on the kingis syde that was slane.

Whidder for laik of grose powlder, or ane letter that come fra the quene of England, was the cause of the suddan retire, I am vncertane; but it was affirmed,



that scho send a letter to the regent, desyring him not to hasard the noble men vpon thair suddartis within the towne, but that scho wold provyde, and that soner then they belevit. Lord Hunisdale was turned agane to the court, and come not to Berwick, as was promised before. O Lord put furth thy hand, and wirk thou thyne awin work, for vaine is the help of man, vnles thou prosper and say, Amen to it. 1571  
October

Ou Tuysday the 23 of October, captane Cais returned agane fra Berwick, and delyverit thir heidis vnto the castle, subscrivit be the quene of England, whilk before they alledged was not, and therefore culd not credit them, as was reported. 23

Thir are the heidis send to the castell from the quene of England.

Whairas ye desyre to know the quenis maiesties pleasure what scho will doe for appasing of thais controverseis, and therwith he sufferit your selvis to be at her comandement, tuiching the comone tranquillitie of the whole Ile, and the amitie of bayth the realmes. Hir pleasure is in that behalf, that ye sall leive off the menteanance of the civile discord, and give your obedience to the king, whome scho will menteane to the vtermost of hir power. And in this doing scho will deale with the regent and the kingis partie, to receave you into favor vpon ressonable conditiones for securitie of lyfe and levingis. Also scho

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October

sayis, that the quene of Scottis, whair that scho has practised with the Pope and vther princes, and also with hir awin subiectis of England, grit and dangerous treassonis against the estait of hir cuntrie, and also the destructione of hir awin persone, that scho will never beir authoritie nor haif libertie while scho leivis.

Gif ye refuse thais generall offeris now offerit vnto you, scho will presentlie ayde the kingis partie with men, munitioun, and vther thingis necessar to be had against you. Whairvpon hir maiestie desyres your answir with speid without ony delay.

24 Weddinsday the 24 of October, the prowest of S<sup>t</sup> Androis come home vnder soverties.

30 The penult of this moneth there was ane combatt betuixt Cambell on the kingis part, and ane Smyth a livetenent, or serrant within Edinburgh for thame. But Campbell struke him tuys through the bodie without blood drawin vpon him self, except a scrape vpon the thvmbe.

31 The last of October, 1571, landit at Abirdene 50 hagbutteris out of Edinburgh be the lord Huntlie; they shipped at Grantone Craigis. Mr James Kirkaldie, Granges brother, come with thame, who is to pas to France and to Rome for support, as is supposed.

Novem.  
2

James Cunyghame, Drumwhassilis brother, who a little before was send to the quene of England fra the regentis grace and the lordis, returned agane to Leyth

the 2 of November ; and that becaus he had met with the lord Hunsdiall at Stamfford, who caused him come bak, be ressonne the said lord Hunisdaill that he had sic comissione and power to treat with vs heir, in the quene of Englandis name, his maistres, vpon all headis as gif scho were present ; yea, and to satisfie the kingis partie to thair contentment. 1571  
Novem.

The said lord Hunisdaill come to Berwick the Set- 6  
terday therafter, who sent in captane Cais, who come to Leyth vpon Tuysday the 6 of November.; who also went to the castell with some thingis to propose vnto thame whilk as yit I know not, but I hard say he departed without ony answir. They send with him Andro Melving, who (as was reported) suld mak thare answir.

Twa dayis after this, thare come in fra Berwick 40 barrellis of poulder, which is the beginning of the preparatioun for the seig that nixt suld be, gif the quene of England may and be not impedit be insurrectione within the realme.

Thurisdai the 8 of November, and Fryday therafter, was the inhumane handling and schamfull dealing of the lord Bothwick, with Thomas Davidsons his awin gude-brother. 8

About this tyme thair went captane Chisme out of Leyth towardis the north, be the procurement of the maister of Forbes, who also reased a band of suddartis

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Novem.

in Dundie, to assist the invasiōne of Adam Gordone, who playis king Herrot in the north, vpon the kingis freindis and gud subiectis, bot in especiall vpon the Forbesses, whois rowmes he is going about to destroy with fyre and sword, as he hes done part alreddie.

About the x or xii day of November, was the tutor of Pitcurre delyvered ; vpon what conditiones I know not, but it was alledged to be vpon a band.

About this time certane letteris wer proclaimed in S<sup>t</sup> Androis, be the regentis grace, dischargene the collectoris, becaus (as the lettres specified) of the complent of the pure ministeris that were not payit, and becaus that the kingis hous was not provydit nor payit of that which was appointed vnto it of the thriddis.

It was thoght that thir letteris were reased be the lord of Mortoun, vnto whome the rector of S<sup>t</sup> Androis had written, schawing, that the collector wald not suffer him to tak vp certane dewities perteaning to the bischopruck, as the said rector had alledgit, who was appointed, and made bischop of S<sup>t</sup> Androis, be the lord of Mortoun, without ony consent, assent, or admissiōne of the kirk : which lettres were discharged agane be the regent, be meanes of the lard of Dvn, who had writtin vnto the regentis grace certane lettres, quhilk followes.

*The copie of a letter fra the lard of Dun\* to the regentis grace.*

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Novem.

I have thocht expedient, in writ, to lat your grace know my iudgment in thea articles and heidis contained in your graces last wryting.

As to the pensione before appointed to the regentis hous, as I vnderstand little difficultie wilbe therin, your grace doand your dewitie to the kirk; of the which, I pray God your grace doe. As to the provisione of benefices, this is my iudgment; all benefices of teindis, or having teindis ioynd or anexed therto, (which is taken vp of the peoples laboris) hes the offices ioynd vnto thame, which office is the preaching of the Evangle, and ministratioun of the sacramentis; and this office is spirituall, and therefore belongis to the kirk, wha onlie hes the distributione and ministratioun of spirituall thingis. Sua be the kirk spirituall offices are distributed, and men receaved and admitted therto; and the administratioun of the power is comitted be the kirk to bischopis or superintendentis, whairfore to the bischopis and superintendentis pertenis the examinatione and admissioun of men vnto benefices and offices of spirituall cure, whatsoewer benefice it be, alsweill bischoprickis, abbaceis, and prioreis, as vther inferior benefices. That this pertenis be the scriptoris of God to the bischop or superia-

\* Erskine of Dun, a famous reformer.

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tendent, is manifest; for the Apostle Paull wrytis in the 2 to Timothie, 2 cap. 2 verse. 'Thea thingis that thou hes hard of me, mony bering witnes, the same delyver to faythfull men, whilk salbe able to teach vtheris.' Heir the Apostle referris the examinatione to Timothie, of the qualitie and habilitie of the persone, whair he sayis to men able to teache vtheris, and also the admissiōe he referris, whair he biddis delyver to him the same that is able to teache vtheris. And in ane vther place, 1 Timothie, 5 cap. 22 verse. 'Lay handis on no man suddenlie, neather be partacker of vther menis synis: keip thyself pure.' Be laying on of handis, is understood admissiōe to spirituall offices, the which the apostle will not that Timothie doe suddanlie, without iust examinatione of thair maneris and doctrine. The apostle also wryting to Titus, bischop of Crete, puttis him in remembrance of his office, which was to admitt and appoint ministeris in every citie and congregatiōe; and that they suld not doe the same rashlie without examinatione, he expressed the qualities and conditiones of all men as suld be admitted, as at lenth is conteaneth in the first chapter of the apostle foirsaid. The deaconis that were chosen at Jerusalem be the whole congregatiōe, were receaved and admitted be the apostles, and that by laying on of thair handis, as St Luke wrytis in the 6 chapter of the Actis of the Apostles. This we have expressed plainelie be Scriptoris: that to the office

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of ane bischope pertenis examinatione and admisione into spirituall cure and office, and also to oversee thame, that are admitted that they walk vprightlie, and exerce thair office faythfullie and purelie; to tak this power fra the bischope or superintendent, is to tak away the office of ane bischope, that no bischope be in the kirk. Thair is ane spirituall iurisdictione and power whilk God has gewin, vnto his kirk and to thame that bearis office therein: and thair is ane temporall iurisdictione and power gewin of God to kingis and civile magistratis. Both the powaris are of God, and most aggreing to the fortefeing one of the vther gif they be rycht vsed. But when the corruption of man enters in, confounding the offices, vsurping to him self what he pleasis, nothing regarding the gude ordor appoynted of God; then confusione followes in all esteatis. In the .1 of Kingis, 12. cap. it is written, that Jeroboam king, in presumption of his authoritie, made priestis in his realme, expres against the ordor that the Lord in thea dayis had appointed, tuiching the priesthovd, wherevpon followed destruction of that kyng and his seed; and lykwayis of all other kingis that followed him in that wickidnes. For the better vnderstanding of that mater, Christ has gewin foorth ane rule, which ought to be weayed of magistratis, and of all people, saying, Give to Cesar that pertenis to Cesar, and to God that pertenis to God. The kirk of God suld fortifie all lauchfull power and authoritie.

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that pertenis to the civile magistrate, becaus it is the ordinance of God: but gif he pass the boundis of his office, and enteris within the sanctuarie of the Lord, meddling with sic thingis as apperteanis to the ministeris of Godis kirk, as Vzziah the king of Judah did, (2 paral. 16.) entering in the temple to burn incens, the whilk perteaneth not to his office. Then the servandis of God sould withstand his iniust interpryse, as did the bischop that tyme withstand the king of Juda, for so were they commandit of God. The servandis of God, when sic wickidnes occures, sould not keip silence, flattering princes in vaine pryde; but withstand and reprove them in their iniquitie; and wha does vtherwayis is vnworthie to beir in Godis kirk ony office. Ane gritter offense or contempt of God and his kirk, can no prince doe, than to set vp be his authoritie men in spirituall officis, as to creat bischopis and pastoris of the kirk; for so to doe, is to conclude no kirk of God to be, for the kirk can not be without it have the awin power, iurisdictione, and libertie, with the ministratione of sic articles as God has appointed. In speiking this, tuiching the libertie of the kirk, I meane not the hurt of the king or vtheris in their patronages, bot that they have these priviledges of presentatione according to the lawes; provyding alwayis, that the examinatione and admissione pertene only to the kirk, of all benefices having cure of soules. That it sould not appear that the pastoris of the kirk seikis of ava-



rice and ambitione to have possessione of grit benefices, your grace salt vnderstande, that the kirk hes continuallie suted (of auld als weil as now), as there articles concludit in the generall assemblie, and consentit and subscryvit be the most part of the nobilitie, which is to be produced beiris, and was proponed to the quene, the kingis majesteis mother, to wit, that when ever ony of the grit benefices vaked, having mony kirkis ioynd thereto, that all the kirkis suld be devydit and severallie disposit to severall men to serve everie one at his awin kirk; of the whilk mynd all that beare office in the kirk, continewes; whairby it may be knowin, that they seik not of avarice sic promotion as is alledged; and I doubt not gif vtheris of the nobilitie were alsweill purged of avarise and vther corruptione as the ministeris of the kirk, they wald aggrie to have fulfilled that thing which they subscryvet with solempled oath: and as yit the kirk most humblie suites of your government and counsall, to have the same fulfilled. But gif this can not be granted, I meane the dismembering (as they call it) of the grit benefices, I traist in respect of this confuset trublous tyme, the kirk will conser.t (the benefices and offices ioynd thereunto being given after the order before spokken, that the privilege and libertie of the kirk be not hurt), to assigne sic proffetis as may be spared above the ressonable sustentatione of the ministrie of he kirkis of Christ sic benefices, to the menteanance of

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forder order may be tane in thea matteris: for the  
kirk contendis not for worldlie proffeit, but for that  
spirituall libertie whilk God has gewin unto it, with-  
out the whilk be granted, the servantis of God will  
not be satisfied; but will oppose them selvis against  
all power and tyranye whilk presumes to spoill the  
kirk of the libertie thereof; and rather to die than to  
live vnder that miserable bondage. Thair lyves are  
not to thame so deir as is the honor of God and liber-  
tie of his kirk. I heir say, sum men bragis and  
boastes the pure ministeris of God, to tak thair lyves  
from thame; but I wishe that sic men conteant them  
selvis within ane boundis, for they are not sure of thair  
awin lyfe: and to rvn that race will mak it more  
schort. Of auld the papistis called the trueth heresie,  
and now sum callis the trueth treassone. We may  
perceave in all aidges and tymes, Sathan wantis not  
his servantis to impugne the truth.

As to the questione, gif it be expedient ane superin-  
tendent to be, quhair ane qualifeit bischop is? I vn-  
derstand that ane bischope or superintendent to be but  
ane office, and whair the ane is the vther is. But  
having sum respect vnto the cais whairvpon the ques-  
tion is movit, I answir, the superintendentis that are  
placed ought to continew in thair office, notwithstand-  
ing ony vther that intruses themselves or are placed be

sic as hes no power in sic offices. They may be called bischopes, but are no bischopes, but idoles (Zachar. 11. cap. vi.) saythe the prophet, and therefore the superintendents which are called and placed ordourlie be the kirk, has the office and iurisdictione, and the vther bischopes so called, has no office nor iurisdictione in the kirk of God, for they enter not be the doore, but be ane vther way, and therefore are not pastoris, as sayis Christ, but theivis and rubbaris.

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I can not but lament from my verie hart, that grit misorder vsed in Stirveling at the last parliament, in creating bischopes, placeing thame, and givand them vote in parliament as bischopes, in dispite of the kirk and contempt of God; having the kirk opposing itself against that misorder. They were not hard, but boasted with threateningis; but thair boasting was not against man, but against the eternall God, whois ordinance publictly they transgressed: What followed therevpon is known. God has power to destroy and to save: he is ane myghtie Lord, able to preserve the inocent, and cast downe the pryde of the myghtie. I heare that some were offendit with the comissioneris of the kirk at that tyme, but without caus. For they passed not the boundis of their comissione: and the whole kirk will affirme thair proceedingis; and will insist farther in that matter. For gif that misordered creatione of bischopes be not reformed, the kirk will first

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complane vnto God, but also vnto all their brethren memberis of the kirk within this realme, and to all reformed kirkis within Europe. Some counsalloris thinkis now gud tyme to conqueis fra the kirk, (being now as they iudge, weake and poore), priviledge and proffites, to the temporall authoritie: bot gif there were no vther particular respectis nor the authoritie, I iudge they wald not travell so buselie. But what respect soever they have, their unryghteous conquest and spoilzie of the kirk sall not profite thame, but rather be ane caus to bring plaig and destructione, both vpon the heid and counsalloris of sic abominatione. Because the servantis of God speakis in this matter, reproveing the menis corruptione, they are called proude that misknowis thair awin place, and knoweis not with whome they deale, as thought they were Godis and yit are but flesh. Lat sic men vnderstand, of whatsoever estate they be, that the ministeris of Godis kirk has resaved ane office of God above thame, wherevnto they ought to be subiect and obedient, and hes receaved ane rycher treasure than they, thought it be in earthen veschels, as says the apostle, (Paul 2 Cor. 4. cap. 7.) and hes receaved ane power of God to cast down and destroy the pryde of man, and to bring in subiectione all thingis that exalteis the self against God. 2 Cor. 10. 5. The Lord will not that his servantis, in executing and vsing thare office, feare

men how myghtie and potent that ever they appeir to be ; and as it is written, Esay 51, cap. 7. Feare ye not the reproche of men, neither be affrayed of their rebukis and threateningis : for the mothe sall eat thame up lyk a garment, and the worme sall eat them lyk wolle ; bot my ryghteousnes salbe for ever, and my salvatione from generatione to generatione. The spreit of God entering in the hart of his servantis, gives thame sic ane teast of his power and maiestie, and ane sight of his iudgmentis, that with thame the enemies of God and his kirk are nothing regarded, but compted as dust befor the wynd, and as waxe befor the fyre vnable to stand, but to peris in the day of the lordis visitatione. They will according to thair dewitie, reprove ungodlines, and withstand all iniquitie ; and as to the malice and truble reased against them be the wicked powaris of the world to thair awin dempnatione, they will patientlie indure ; for therein consistis the patience of the sanctis, for they see a glorious end to follow thervpon. Some men in thair corruptione (as thair wordis hes declared), purposes in tyme of truble, craftelie to handle the kirk while all thir troubles be pacifeit. Lat sic men vnderstand, that sic ewill purposes makis the troubles to continewe the longer. Bot thocht the troubles were pacifeid, and they confederat with England, France, and Spaine, and all vther earthlie kyngdomes, yit sall they

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not be able to destroy the kirk of God and libertie therof; for the myghtie Lord, that hes bene ane protector of his kirk in all ages, and hes destroyed and cassin dovne grit empyres and kingdomes, that made battell against his kirk, sall vse the same iudgmentis against all men, that in thir dayis intendis the lyk: for he beiris to his kirk ane perpetuall love, and is ane perpetuall defence and petitione to it in this tyme, and for ever.

*Ane admonitione of David to Kingis and Magistratis.*

Be wyse, ye kyngis; be wairned, ye that are iudges of the earthe; serve the Lord with feare, and reioyse before him with reverance. Kis the Sonne, leas the Lord be angrie, and so ye peris from the ryght way; for his wraith salbe schortlie kendled. Of Montros, the 10 of November, 1571.

*The copie of ane vther letter send to the Regent, fra the forsaid lard of Dun, 14 November, 1571.*

I being in Perth this Weddinsday, having thair ane assemblie of the kirk of Stormonth and Gowrie, being vnder my care, I resaived ane wryting of your grace, tuiching the conventione to be in Leyth of the superintendentis, the 16 of this instant, specifeing also ane inhibitione that nothing suld be answerit to the collectoris of the kirk. It is the first inhibitione gewin

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to that effect, and I wis of God it had not begvne in your graces handis. The pure ministeris are not convict of ony cryme or offence, and yit thair levings is comandit to be halden fra thame. I persave the kirk so farre despysed, that no wrong can be done to it. It may appeir most iustlie to all men, that the destructione of the kirk and ministrie therof is sought: for benefices are gewin, and bischopis are maid at thenis pleasir, without consent of the kirk, and the poore thing apoynted be a law to susteane the ministrie is inhibit to be answerit. Gif this hes proceadit for obteaning the pensione assigned to the first most godlie regent, that myght have bene handled vtherwayis more reasonable: for I know the mynd of the kirk, willing to have satisfeit your grace therin. And that myght have bene obteaned with one gud wryting. Bot it seames to me that men intendis to bring the kirk vnder slaverie and vile subiectione; but the grit Lord wilbe enemye to thair purposes, and bring destructione vpon the heidis of sic as so intendis, of whatsoever estait they be, and will preserve his kirk in libertie. Perceaving sic proceadingis, I see no caus wherfore ony that bearis office in the kirk suld cum to Leyth, for thair counsall will not be resaved, neather sufferit to ressonne frielie, as experience hes taught in tymes past; and the counsall of the enemyis of God and his kirk followed yit despysed, Israel is

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comforted in the Lord. He caires for his people, and will delyver thame from the opprsesione of tyrantis, and give thame honor and libertie, when thair enemeis sall suffer confusione and shame. Gif your grace will consider the mater weill, ye will call bak the lettres of inhibitione; gif ye will not, the kirk will have patience, and luke for help at the handis of the Lord. The kirk suld enioy hir awin, and not begg at men. I have stayed the superintendent of Fyfe, untill my cuming to S<sup>t</sup>. Androis the morne, while we know further your graces mynd, gif it be your pleasir with this berare.

*The copie of the regentis lètre to the larde of Dun, superintendent of Anguse and Mearnes, for discharge of the lettres of inhibitione.*

Ryght traistie cysing, after most hartlie comendationes, in place of your self, whome we have long loked for, we receaved this day two lettres of yoris, one from Montros the tent, and the vther from Perth the 14 of this month, conteaning vther effect and matter nor our expectatione was; in consideratione of our gud meaning to have travellit be all possible meanes for the quyeting of sic thingis as were in controversie, that the ministeris of the kirk myght have found some ease and repose, and wee releavit of ane faschious burding, that we have in default of a cer-



tane forme accordit vnto the dispositione of benefices great and small. Our said meaning we persave is vtherwayes tacken, which we vnderstand to proceed from vther privat fontanes then your awin gud nature, and so will we not preis mekle to contend with you in writ, be reasoun of this matter, as the wechtier gravity of it requires. We have bene verie desyrous indeid to speik your self, specialie sen we were burdened with this charge of regiment; and your awin presence peradventor myght have supplid sum thingis that your lettre findis fault with. Bot seing materis tacken as they are, that all occasione of grudge may be removit for ony thing done be vs; we send you heirwith agane a discharge of the inhibitione laitlie gewin; for as we have liveth heirtfore (praysed be God) honorable on our awin, so sall we forbear to crave the collectoris while this mater be better considerit of; and yet when indifferent men sall look upon the wordis of the inhibitione, the intencion whairfore it is gewin, and for how schort a space it suld have lasted, we traist they sall think that it aught not to have bene tane in sic part as we see it is taken. Gif collectoris be subiectis to the king (of vtheris we will spare to speik at this tyme), they myght compeir when they are charged, and not write in contempt: let als monie charges pas as pleis, they will obey none; and this we meane of sic as be most ewest. What the vther regentis had

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intendit to be taken vp, and that we salbe frustrat therof, which yet was not the grittest occasiōe why we desyred sum of the superintendentis to have bene heir at this tyme. Bot thir materis tuiched in our lettre send you; whilk, albeit we sent it for your privat informatione, yit being accused, we see rather extremitie meant to stoppe the helping of the mater, nor vtherwais ony mentione of quyeting or ordering of thingis amiss; as truelie our meaning it was, and is still, to procure the reforming of thingis disordered in all sortis, as far as may be, retaining the priviledge of the king, crowne, and patronage. The defalt of the whole standis in this, that the policie of the kirk of Scotland is not perfite, nor ony solide conference amonges godlie men, that are weill willed, and of iudgment how the same may be helpit; and for corruptione, which dailie increases whensoever the circumstances of thingis salbe weill considerit be the gud ministeris, that are neather busie, nor owre desyrous of promotiones to thame and thairis. It wilbe found that some have bene autheris and procureris of thingis that no gud policie in the kirk can allow; whairanent we thought to have conferred speciallie with your self, and to have yeildit to you in thingis ressonable, and craved satisfactiōe of vther thingis alyk ressonable at your handis, and be your procurement. Gif ye see no caus that ony that beiris office in the kirk of God

suld come to Leyth, I man tak patience, and deferr the mater to the conventione of the esteatis of the realme, be whome I was burdened with this office, and will mak them, and all the godlie in Cristendome iudges, betuixt them bearing office in the kirk (ye wryt of) and me, whidder I have not sought thair satisfactiōne, or gif they have not neglected the meanis and occasiōis that was maist appearand tō bring quiyetness to the pure ministeris of the kirk; and in the meanetyme I will answer no farther to the speciall poyntis of your lettres, but will keip the same to my self, while tyme and better advice worke effectis. Gif ye of your self onlie have written, then thair is one way to be considered of; gif be commone consent of ony number of thame bearing office in the kirk, then are they to be vtherwayis answereth, as tyme and place servis. And so far for this tyme, suffering and ceasing to mak longer letter, committis you to the protectione of almightie God. At Leyth, the 15 day of November, 1571. Zouris assured friend,

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JHONE, regent.

The 17 of November the lord of Mortoun departed furth of Leyth towardis Berwicke, to speik and conferre with the lord Hunsdaill, wha returned the last of the same. Of his busines done there we referre to this letter of Alexander Hayis, and to the end of the

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bvt few godlie beleives that ony comfort sall cum to  
his kirk, be the lord of Mortounis meanis, wha mair  
seikis the destructione of the kirk in depaupering of  
the same, than eather he seikis Godis glory, or the  
weil of this just caus. Tyme will try all thingis.

Sir, I resavit your wryting of the vi of this moneth  
fra the superintendent, not long befoir Jhone Brand  
delyvered to me *Richart Bannatynes* lettre of the xiiii  
of November, which I had not sene when him self was  
heir. I had no comoditie to write at the departor of  
the superintendent, nor knew not certanlie his dyet.

As to the lettres wryttin be you to the last regent,  
now resting with God, I can not certainlie affirme  
whither I have it or not ; but gif it be in my handis,  
it is in Stirveling, whair I sall search for it, at my  
passing thither, and gif I have it I sall send it to you.

I have no farther certaintie of the Englis resolu-  
tiones towart our estait nor I had at my last wryting  
to you, for no answer is returnet from the court. The  
lord Hunisdealis dealing is not pleasing ; whither his  
awin imperfectiones of nature, or comandement is the  
occasione, I will not yit judge. They have set out in  
England our quenis lyfe and proces, both in Lating  
and Englis, whairin is conteanet the discours of the

tragical doings; the proces of the erle of Bothwellis clengine, hir sonnettis and letteris to him; the depositions of the personnes execute, and cartellis after the kingis murther. In appearance they leive nothing vnset out tending to hir infamy, and to mak the duck of Northfolk odious, quha hes a grit benevolence of the people. But thair slaw resolutiones in that cuntrie dois us great harme heir, and is lyk yneugh in worldlie appearance to prove incomodious to thame selvis at lenth. We may not comand, and sua necessarye man suffer.

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Be comone reporte of some comed out of Flanderis, we heir the newis of the Turkis overthrowe affirmed; for the which fyris were made in Londoun; that there hes bene a counsell at Bruxellis, and aid of money, men, and munitione granted to our adversareis, at the lord Seaytonis procurement. He was twise on the sea, and constrained be tempest to returne. It is said the cardinall of Lorane was at the same counsaill; and that the prince of Oreinge, with some vther princes of Germany and noble men of France, were come to the frontiers of Flanders; for resisting of whome, Duck D'Alva has drawin his men of warre from all the tounis whair they lay in garrysoun, and send them to the fronteiris; that thair is a gud number of shippis at Dover raid, and vtheris the narrowe seis, vnder the name of the prince of Oreinge, whilkis hes taken mo-

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ny of the buscheis and thair wachiteris ; and that thir shippes of the prince of Oreinge hes owersicht to mak sale of thair wearis in ony part of the king of Frances dominiones ; which appearis strange, gif it be trew on the vther part, that the cardinall was at the counsalle in Bruxelles. It is reported also that the admirall is returned to his hous, and the cardinall of Lorane returnet to the court of France ; that the marriage haldis fordwart betwixt the prince of Nawarre, and madame Claud, the king of Frances sister ; and that the same prognosticatis a warre betuixt France and Spaine. The admirall hes gottin the kingis licens that the protestantis may contribute amonges them selvis, for payment of the money borrowed fra the quene of England during the tyme of the weiris ; and the tovne of Deip has elis payed fyve thousand Franckis, as a part of that contributione. As I geat knowlege forder in forrane materis, ye sall, God willing, be made participant.

Thair has bene some conference betuixt some of the superintendentis and ministeris, and my lord regent grace and the counsall, for agrement in materis tuiching the policie of the kirk and dispositione of benefices. The mater is deffereth while the viii of Januar. It seemes to differ rather in circumstances nor in effect ; and, to speik trueth, I find the regent willing and desyrous to have a forme aggreit vnto, whilk I traist he

suld performe for his enterest. The stay of the ag-  
 griement in this hinderis alsweill the caus of the kirk  
 as of the estate, whair of I wald wishe your habilitie  
 myght trie the best and the worst. Gif ye have with  
 you the buike I send you when I come from England,  
 intitulat *Leges ecclesiasticæ Anglicanæ*, or *Reformatio*  
*legum ecclesiasticarum*, which is the work of Jhone  
 Foxe, I will pray you send the same to me with this  
 bearer, and I sall doe gud will to send you some vther  
 buike to supply the place of that while I return it, gif  
 ye think it worth ; ffor sic thingis being in my handis  
 as were meit to decoir the historie. I asked of you  
 befoir, what were the thingis you thought meit, for I  
 have sindrie thingis in my iudgement not vnmeit for  
 that purpose ; and therefore, that I sall not be put to  
 extraordinary paines to copie thingis that ye have al-  
 reddie. Let me know gif ony of the thingis heir after  
 noted be convenient, and may serve your turne. Sic  
 thingis as are newlie sett out in print I traist be not  
 neidfull to be written, as the discours of the quenis  
 doingis, hir lettres to the erle Bothwell, the proces of  
 his clengeing and cartellis, all which are set out bayth  
 in Latine and Englis ; in the end of which Englis.  
 buik thir sentences or conclusiones are written, whilkis  
 I thought not gude heir to slip.

Now iudge Englismen gif it be gude to change queins,  
 O vniting confounding!

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When rude Scotland has vomited up a poyson, most  
fyne England lick it vp for a restorative,

O vyle indignitie!

Whiles your quenis enemy liveth, hir danger continew-  
eth; desperat necessitie will dar the vtermost.

O ambitione fed with prosperitie, nurished with indul-  
gence, irritate with adversitie, not to be neglected,  
trusted, nor pardonit.

I have bot they are in Stirveling, the two pro-  
cesses of divorce betuixt the erle Bothwell and his  
wife. Some proclamationes about that tyme.

Instructiones gevin to the bischope of Dumblane to  
excuse that mariage.

Band of the lordis befor that mariage.

Declaratione of the quene, that scho was at libertie  
after her reveissing.

Proclamatione and bandis at the kingis coronatione  
and afoir.

Conditiones of the randering of Dumbar.

Some band made about the parliament, in Decem-  
ber 1567.

Proclamationes after the feild of Langsyde.

Negotiatione with England thereafter, while we past  
to Yorke, and all the proces we had in England.

Articles at Glasgow, in Merche 1561.

Ordour for the theives at the bordour.

Articles of agrement with the erle of Huntlie, lord  
Ogilby, erle of Crawford, Mackyntosche, lard of  
Grant.



New band of them with relaps.

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Projectis brought hame with Mr Jhone Wood, whairon followit the answer at the conventionis at Perth.

The order tacking with the theivis, in October 1569.

Proclamations be erle of Sussex, touching the rebellione in the north of England.

Actis and doingis after the murther of the erle of Murray, regent.

Proclamations at the incuming of the Englisten to Hamiltoun.

The constitutione of the erle of Lenox, regent.

And fnallie, all sic comone thingis as past registeris are in my handis, and salbe at comandement how sone I have comoditie to be in the rume whair they are, and man have thame copijt out of the buikis, or whair they are in scrollis sall send the scrollis. Thus having to lang trublit you, after my most hartlie commendationes, committis you in the protection of the almyghtie God. Youris assuredlie to vse and comand. At Leyth the xiiii day of December, 1571.

A. Hay.

*Ane vther of his letteris, which suld hove bene afoir this vther.*

Sir, returning yesternyght to Leyth, I met with

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Richard, be whome I thought meit to send you thir few lynis, with my maist hartlie comendationes. I wald be glaid to write to you gude newis in our expeditione at this iornay: but I knaw weill ye lyke not to be abused with vncertaneteis and vntreuthis: yit according to my knawledge and opinione, ye sall vnderstand as I can lerne. The lord Hunisdail had ample comissione; but as now appeiris sa restricted be instructiones, as he would do nothing but minasse thame in the castle, and heir what on our part was craved and offered, and sua to adverteis the qvene and counsall. The merschale was in full reddines to pas to the court when we come from Berwicke this last Weddinsday: he hes with him the writtis of bayth, and is to give informatione of the steat of this countrie; whairvpon it is thocht resolutione salbe tacken anent the sending in of ane armie: whairof there is alreddie some liklieheid, but not sic forwardness as our necessitie craves. The mater is apparent to continew in suspense, while the merschalis returning, who hes not onlie the informatione of both parteis in Scotland, but the opinionones of the captanes and best experimentit men of weir in Berwick how the interpryse may be performed. He luikis to have the conducting of the forces; yit vtheris iudges that men of gritter calling salbe employed in that service, and that whensoever the power cumis, it salbe gritter nor

we have requyred or yit lukes for. The first assay 1571  
that the castle hes gottin is be boasting and perswa- Novem.  
siones. It is thocht nixt it salbe persewed be offer-  
ing silver for it; and lastly by force; and in cais it be  
recoverit be ony of the last meanes, men doubtis that  
the quene of England sal not be content to want it  
hir self for hir suretie at this hand. Sua I can not  
tell what to say, but to behald what it salbe Godis  
pleasour to work. The cauldnes of the dealing of Eng-  
land puttis mony in a brangle; and yit I feir they laik  
not ressonne to give for the fassione of thair doing, for  
they are acquaintit weill aneugh with our natures, and  
are not ignorant of our fetches as they dissemble not  
in thair speiking, as I lament thair is sa iust caus.  
For gif it were eather peace or weir, sum ressonable  
order of levying were for men. But as it is, all true  
and honest men are wreakit, everie nobleman having  
his particular intelligence, and ane at leist to whome  
he is patrone, althocht it be of the cheifest enemeis to  
the kingis obedience and comone caus. When Eng-  
land findis vs craving ayde to suppres the adversareis  
in generall, and yit everie nobleman to procure the  
savetie of ane of the cheifest in particular, na doubt  
they smell our doingis, and are the mair slaw to re-  
solve in ony thing tuiching. Now I wearie you, and  
sua will mak ane end. I was desyred be the gude  
wife, the Clerk of Registeris vife, to send you the

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copeis of some thingis, according to a memore left with Richard, whair of I have part, and vther part are not in my handis. My absence this while hes stayed that I culd not satisfie you ; but als fare as I can I sall fulfill that memore, and sic thingis farther as ye think worthie, being in my handis vpon your advertisement, I sall travell to seik thame. Thus efter my most hartlie comendationes, I comit you in the protectione of the Almyghtie. At Leyth the first of December, 1571. Zouris assuredlie to comand,

Alexander Hay\*.

About the viii or ix day of November, captane Chisme went with his band of ane hundret men out of Leyth to pas to the north.; and efter come to Dundie, whair captane Wedderburne tuke vp ane vther band, when altogether, with a certane horsmen vnder Alexander Campbellis charge, past forwart to the north, and met with the maister of Forbes, wha was thair cheif procurere for the former defeat he got be Adam of Gordoun, wha a litle before had not onlie defeat the Forbesses (as befoir is said) ; bot also went to the hous of Towie, whilk he brunt and 24 persones in the same, never one escaping, but one woman that come through the cornes and hather, whilk was cassin

\* It does not appear to whom these letters are addressed ; but most probably to John Knox.

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to the hous sydis, whairby they were smored. This was done vnder assurance; for the lard of Towey's wyfe being sister to the ladie Craufurd, and also died within the hous, send a boy to the lard in tyme of the trewis (which was for the space of xii houris), to see on what conditiones they suld tender the hous. In the meane tyme Adam Gordoun's men laid the cornes, and tymbers, and hather about the hous, and set all on fyre. The forsaide compairis, with the maister Forbes and his freindis, and certane bowe men of the ladie Craufurd, come forwart with the maister of Merschell and the lard of Drvm; but vpon Weddinsday the 9 of November, the Mr of Merschell, and the lard of Drvm come bak and left the maister of Forbes, becaus the regent had written a letter to the Mr of Merschell to come to Leyth, whidder becaus the said Mr Forbes would not follow his counsell, to caus his cumpany reteir till Adam of Gordoun's cumpany were scaleth furth of Abirdene: (wha were there for the tyme), or whidder he was not willing to enter in battell against the said Adam I know not, but alwayis he went back, and the suddartis wald not stay, but wold gae forwardis. For tuo dayis before they were verie scarce of victuallis; and so vpon Tuysday the 20 of November, they come with the Mr Forbes and his cumpany, within a myle to the toвне of Abirdene. Adam Gordoun having his men fresch come furth,

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and (as said is) had no will to medle with the vther, becaus they were thrise so mony hagbutteris as he was; bot our suddartis seing the enemy foolishlie wald gae vpon thame and skirmis; and so thair powder being spent, the vther with his hors men and bowe men come vpon thame and gave thame defeat, whair captane Chisme and a grit number of his best suddartis died. The Maister Forbes was tane, and sindrie of his freindis slane. The Mr of Forbes bowe men gave backis, and did no gude. Be meanis of this victorie, Adam Gordoun thinkis now to play the king, and gois about and takis all gentlemenis places that will not obey the quene, and sua rules he all the north at this present as he pleases. God schorten his tyme. He maid no little seiking and serche for the ladie Forbes (who now beiris the blame of all the wrak of the Forbeses), whome, gif he had gottin, as was reported, nothing suld have saved hir lyfe.

Efter the lord of Mortonis homecuming, lettres were direct to answir the new bischope of S<sup>t</sup> Androis, Mr Jhone Douglas rector, of all the fructes of the said bischoprick.

25

The 25 day of November they had a fast in Edinburgh, ‘Therefore,’ said the bischop, ‘God hath hard ‘thair prayeris, as experience declared be the victorie ‘in the north.’

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Thursday the sext of December, Mr Jhone Doug-

las and the superintendent, Mr Jhone Wynrome departed out of S<sup>t</sup> Androis towardis Leyth, becaus the lard of Dvn, at the regentis desyre, had written for the superintendentis, and some vther comissioneris of the kirk, that some order myght be tane about the provisione of the kingis hous, of a part of the thriddis (as the lettres befoir direct specified) and for creating of the said Mr Jhone Duglas to be bischop of S<sup>t</sup> Androis, whairof mair will ensew.

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The tent of December was captane Hakkerstoun tane agane and 50 suddartis with him, and 7 or 8 slane. Captane Mitchall also was tane, and 6 or 7 with him (following the chais), within the kirk of Feild Port; for that scarmis was about the Borrowmuir (called the lowsie law), whair Hakkerstoun was tane about the loche. Some thinkis that give our suddartis had done thair dewitie, thair had bene mea of the vtheris gottin, and a gritter vantage also. It is supposed they bair with vther, for gif the warres ceis, they will get no moir wages.

10

The maner of captane Hakkerstonis taking and his cumpany was: certane horsmen were vpon the mure casting downe coilis and vther laidis cumand to Edinb-urgh, whilk causit Haggerstoun come furth; and sua the hors men trainis them als far as they culd fra the toвне; and being a grit space off, ane that was appointed vpon Salisberrie, made a signe to ane am-

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busch, which was laid in the Abbay, and so come vpon thame and tuik them as said is.

In this same weike the suldertis of Edinburgh come to a manis hous of the Canogait, and schot the man with a pistolet that he died, and spoyled his hous. The lyk did they befoir to ane gud wyfe in the Deane, whome they schot with culveringis, becaus scho wald not oppin the hous doore vnto thame, which woman was with childe, and had fyve or sex vtheris besydis. O Lord, consider and behauld sic creweltie, and revenge the same.

*The copie of ane letter send to Mr Robert Pont commissioner of Murray, whairby may be understand the doingis and intreatingis of the poore faythfull ministeris in the North. Mr Robert Pont was in St Androiss and come out of Murray for the same trubles.*

Ryght Honorable, after salutationes in the Lord Jesus Christ, this present is to advertise you, that the brethrene of the ministrie within the boundis of your comissione are evill handelit and rigorouslie entreated ; for laitlie vpon the 13 day of this instant December, ane certane number of thame were called befoir the lard of Achindovne, and the shreffe of Murray and thair deputtis in ane lievetenent court, to vnderly the law for tressonable defectione from the quenis authoritie to the



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kingis, and for geving obedience vnto him, and for praying for him and his authoritie, and for brecking and controveaning of the act of parliament made in Edinburgh be the quenis comissioners, chargene all the superintendentis, comissioneris, and ministeris, to pray for the quene, hir authoritie, and lievetentis, in thair publict sermondis, and prayeris, and for blaspheming of hir hienes maiestie, in calling hir idolatres, adultres, murtherere, and Jesobell. Be resson of which, some hes dressed and componet privatlie, as this berare will schaw you: vtheris are fugitive, some are come in will, whilk will is declared to be this: To renunce the kingis authoritie, and to gif obedience to the quene and hir authoritie in tymes cuming, and to pray for hir and hir lievetenentis in thair publict prayeris and sermondis: the quhilk they have promised, and hes set catione to doe the same; and vtheris, sic as the persone of Duffeis, Robert Keth, William Pet, and my self desyring continewatione vnto the tyme we myght consult with you, the minister of Abirdene, his ministeris, and the lerned men amongis whome ye resort, the which they have refused to grant; but hes forced vs for the verie feare of our lyves, instantlie to set sovertie and catione, to vnderly the law in Abirdene, the tent day of Januar nixt. Whairfore we desyre you most effectuouslie, as ye tender the preservatione of our lyves, and as ye wald behave your

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self gif ye war in our place, to lat vs have your advice and consultatione, and of the faythfull brethren in thea partis ; how, and in what maner we suld behave our selfis in this behalf, for eschewing of thir inconvenientis ; for ane of tuo thingis are offered vnto vs ; to wit, death gif we be convict of tressone, or els obedience to the quenis authoritie, and praying for hir. Refering all vther thingis to you, and gud answir anent the premisses with the nixt faythfull persone that comes betuixt, and gif neid beis, that ye hyre ane, and send to vs vpon our expenses with all expeditione. The quhilk we doubt not bot ye will doe, as our lipning is in you : and the Lord God have you in his protection. From Elgyn, the 16 of December, 1571. Be your brother in Christ at comand,  
*Alexander Wyncbester*, minister at Elgin.

Dyvers vtheris were compellit to leve the countrie before, becaus they wold not pray for the quene ; but none were sumoned be ony order of pretendit law till now.

About the 10 or 12 of this December, come home ane schip of Anstruther, whairin was gottin of Spainyie ryallis about 11000 lib ; whidder it was merchant menis, or for vther purposes, tyme will try. Always it was send to Leyth to the regent, that tryall suld be tane.

About the 24 or therby of December, was appre-

hendit one that kepit ane hostlare at Brechin, who befoir, at dyvers tymes, had murthered sindrie that come to ludge with him ; the wyfe beand also als busie as the man with a mell, to fell thair geastis sleaping in there beddis.

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The beginning of Januar, thair come a drvm from Edinburgh to Leyth, demanding gif they wald fight 50 of Leyth against als mony of thame ; bot when they offerit to fight for the kingis actione, whilk was in debait, the vtheris refused, as Grange before did Garleis.

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The first of Januar come in to Leyth Mr Carie, sone to the lord Hunsdeall, who went to the castle, and desyred them to mak the tovne patent to the kingis subiectis, as Mr Case did of befoir. Gif they help not to delyver that tovne, and to hearie that nest of the castle of Edinburgh (which is the caus of the trubles that were in England, and yit sall mak moir agane), they sall drink the dregis that hes bene brewin within it.

1

About this tyme, to wit, the 5 or 6 of Januar, Jhone Law, the post of S<sup>t</sup> Androis being in Edinburgh, and also in the castle, ane demandit gif Jhone Knox was banist S<sup>t</sup> Androis, and gif that his servant Richard was deid, who knawing no sic thing, confessit the treuth. But the ladie Home and vtheris wald neidis thraip in his face that he was banist the said tovne ;

1572 becaus that in the yarde he had reasit sum sanctis;  
 Ja<sup>nuary</sup> amongis whome thair come vp the devill with hornis,  
 which when his servant Richart sawe, ran woode, and  
 so died. O Lord heir thou thir blasphemeis spokken  
 against thy servant, for speaking of the treuth, and  
 for declaring vnto them of that hous, that thy iustice  
 man neidis punis there crewell murtheris and op-  
 pressiones.

Gif this had bene thair first inventit lie, I wald ne-  
 ver have bleckit paper for it ; but that the world may  
 know there invennowmed myndis against thame that  
 speikis against thair impieteis, whome when they can  
 not vtherwayis be revengit of according to thair wick-  
 ed and devilis myndis, they goe about thus to slan-  
 der and misreport to thair awin schame and confu-  
 sione.

6 At this tyme, to wit, the 6 or 7 day of Januare,  
 ane Andersone a corporall, or seriand to captane Mit-  
 chales band that lay in the Abbay, being at singulare  
 combat vpon Craigengate with ane suddart of the  
 toвне, who being overcome be the said Andersone,  
 and perceavit be some of Edinburgh suddartis, ane  
 went privelie behind sum dyke and schot the said  
 Andersone, against law of armes or honestie.

The parliament that was befoir at Stirveling, in  
 August last, was continewed to the 15 of Januar to

be in Leyth, and so run from dyet to dyet as they  
pleis, and now dois it run to the last of Februar. 1572  
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Befoir the dyet of this parliament (quhilkis runes as said is) till the 26 of Februar, thare was ane assembleie of the kirk, thinking that the parliament suld have haldin to the end the kirk myght have asked sic thingis as apperteanet to the liberteis therof of the regent and counsall: whairat the waster part being convenit, as they were befoir wairned to doe, desyrit the thingis that were there done at this assembleie myght stand in effect of ane Generall Assembleie, in respect that they being warnit to this culd not cum to S<sup>t</sup> Androis at the 6 of Merch, whair the assembleie, was appointed, becaus of the trublesumnes and dangeris be the way; and therefore this assemblee satisfeis them of the west quarter for ane Generall Assembleie, whilk yit nottheles sall hauld at the 6 day of Merch in S<sup>t</sup> Androis.

The thingis done at the assembleie be the commissioneris that were appointed to treat with the regent and counsall, are to be reported to the assembleie at S<sup>t</sup> Androis, to begin the 6 of Merch nixt, whilk are conteined in ane buike made for that purpose, of the order of electione of bishopsis, &c., for ane interim, &c.

At this tyme Mr Archibald Douglas, as was reported, gat a tollerance of the kirk to bruke his benefice, whilk before the kirk refused, becaus he was found

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vnmeit when he was examined at Stirveling in August preceeding. Sic doingis causes the godlie mislyk thir proceadingis, whilk will at length provoick Godis plauges, seing sic corruptione sa sone to enter into the kirk.

In register it was appointted to be put the exercise made be Mr Archibald Douglas, made at Stirveling in the assemblie in August 1571, who being comandit to prepare him self for the same be the kirk, send Mr Walter Gourlay, to bid him be reddie against the morne, (as he was appointed befor to that day), fand him playing at the tables \* with the lard of Bargany; and efter he had resavit the kirkis charge in wrait, fra the said Walter, answerit: 'Why not, ye may say 'I am at my studie.' On the morne when he come to the place of examinatione wanting a psalme buke, and lukiing till sum gud fellow suld len him one, Mr David Wemys bad give him the Grek testament, (per Hironiam) but he said, 'think ye, sir, that everie minister that occupeis the pulpet hes Greik;' and when he had gottin the psalme buike, after lukiing, and casting ower the leives therof a space, he desyrit sum minister to mak the prayer for him; 'for,' said he, 'I 'am not vused to pray.' Efter he red his text, quhilk was the . . . chapter of . . . efter he sayis, 'for the 'conexione of this text, I will reid the thing that is

\* This is supposed to have been backgammon.

‘ befoir’, and sua red a gud space, till he come whair he began, and sa continewed his exercis with mony hastlie noses, &c. Ye may persave it was frutfull, seing he culd not pray at the beginning. O Lord, what salbe said whan sic dum dogis salbe sufferit to mock the ministrie of thy word, and the trueth therof on this maner. 1572  
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At this tyme were comandit to warde 20 or 30 of the principall lairdis of Lowthiane and Fyfe, that were favoreris of the castle, some to Ayre, Iruyng, and Wigtoun. Amorges the rest, the lard of Wemis being charged, wha befoir had bene seik, departed this lyfe.

Ther were sumoned of Edinburgh to compeir at Leyth the last of this moneth of Januar, to the number of ten or twelve scoir of persones to vnderly the law : whairof a grit part fand sovertie.

Mr Thomas Macalyene,  
Cuthber Ramsay,  
Hew Lader,  
Peter Martene,  
Thomas Martene, his sone,  
David Corsbie,  
William Nisbeth, merchant,  
Patrick Thomsone, potinger,  
William Craik,

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George Heriot, goldsmyth,  
Mathew Aikman,  
Allane Dickesone,  
William Dickesone, his sone,  
George Wachop, merchant,  
Johne Wilsoun, maltman,  
Edward Kynkaid, maltman,  
Jhone Young, tailyeor,  
James Forrest, skynner,  
Thomas Mitchelsoun, tailyeor,  
James Carmichell, merchand,  
Adame Dicksone, potingar,  
Andro Hamiltoun, merchand,  
Jhone Clavie, candlemaker,  
William Hackersone, bloodwet,  
Thomas Bassendene,  
James Dalyell, elder,  
Alexander Corsbie,  
William Fleming,  
Walter MacCaskye, couper,  
Adame Allane, merchant,  
Jhone Grahame, drepare,  
Jhone Spottiswoode, merchant,  
James Spottiswoode, drepare,  
George Johnstoun, wax-maker,  
Jhone Hutchesone, saidler,  
George Blyth, skynner,



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**William Rae, cutlare,  
Ninian Baty, merchand,  
Mungo Fairlie, merchand,  
David Fairlie, his brother,  
Jhone M'Gill, merchand,  
Jhone Hendersone,  
William Fishar,  
Andro Fischare,  
William Fischere, his sone,  
Patrick Porteous,  
Ninian Porteous, his sone,  
Thomas Crichtoun, measinger,  
Jhone Spens, litstare,  
Jhone Gordon, litstare,  
Hewin Ballendene, litstare,  
Jhone Cochrane, maltman,  
Jhone Wilkie, maltman,  
Jhone Reid, maltman,  
Jhone Forrester, maltman,  
Thomas Tullo, litster,  
Jhone Wat, Smyth,  
James Hunter, sword slipper,  
Andro Patersoun, maltman,  
Richart Patersoun, merchand,  
James Aikman in the N. Bowe,  
Jhone Thomsoun, litster,  
Jhone Calderwood, saidler,**

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Arthour Grange, merchand,  
 William Andersone, candlemaker,  
 William Mudie, his sone-in-law,  
 William Deware, tailyeor,  
 James Hendersone, maltman,  
 Thomas Andro, walker,  
 Thomas Alexander, tailyeor,  
 Jhone Wilsons, puderer,  
 George Smyth, tailyeor,  
 Robert Patersone, merchand,  
 Andro Robesone, skinner,  
 David Thomsone,  
 Walter Bynning, painter,  
 James Rynd, merchand,  
 Michael Rynd, goldsmyth,  
 Robert Mure, stabler,  
 Alexander Ramsay, stabler,  
 Alexander Ramsay, tailyeor,  
 Alexander Cleish, merchand,  
 Alexander Peerie, maltman,  
 Jhone Mudie, maltman,  
 Jhone Maine, merchant,  
 George Rynd, goldsmyth,  
 Jhone Gilchrist, smyth,  
 William Smyth, blacksmyth,  
 William Bricar, smyth,  
 Mathew Smyth, blacksmyth,

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Patrick Edgar, merchand,  
William Symson, lister,  
Robert Wealoch, merchant,  
Alexander Tenent, merchand,  
Mr Jhone Sende, advocat,  
Jhone Horne, skinner,  
William Liddle, merchant,  
Jhone Watsoun, smyth,  
Robert Dunlap, merchant,  
James Norwell, tealyeor,  
Andro Bartane, merchand,  
Laurence Symson, tailyor,  
Thomas Patersone, merchand,  
William Fiddes, baxter,  
Andro Darling, baxter,  
James Mathesone, baxter,  
Cuthbert Murray, merchant,  
Cuthbert Mathesoun, webster,  
Patrick Fulertoun, Gardiner,  
Guilliam, the French smyth,  
James Ogilvie, maltman,  
The French sutare,  
Jhone Bell, seidman,  
Thomas Rowand, merchand,  
William Laying, merchand,  
Jhone Elder, meilman,  
Robert Ewane,

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Jhone Govelock,  
Jhone Gray, fischman,  
William Staker, goldsmyth,  
Alexander King, Advocat,  
Jhone Crawmonde, his servand,  
David Lawtie, wryter,  
James Adamson, wryter,  
Hew Adamsoun,  
Jhone Reid, wryter,  
Jhone Rind, wricht,  
Alexander Stevinsoun, merchand,  
Jhone Sclater, meilman,  
William Stewart, wryter,  
Alexander Herret, flescheor,  
Jhone Jhonstoun, fleschor,  
James Dobie, fleschor,  
James Fleming, flescheor,  
William Dickisoun, flescheor,  
Thomas Hog, flescheor,  
William Dobie, flescheor,  
Jhone Andersone, flescheor,  
James Or, flescheor,  
Jhone Stoddart, merchand,  
Alexander Haistie, milwryght,  
Allane Rogger, meassone,  
. . . . . Sinclair, meassone,

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Andro Newtoun, barboure,  
Jhone Weddell, barboure,  
Walter Wawen, tailyeor,  
Jhone Couttis, wryter,  
William Patersone, baxter,  
Jhone Crichtoun, baxter,  
Jhone Cunninghame, wricht,  
Jhone Kennedie, wricht,  
William Purves, potinger,  
Jhone Scot,  
James Robesone, lock smyth,  
Andro Bartane,  
Jhone Steill,  
William Watstone, dreper,  
Jhone Corser, wryter,  
Allane M'Caller,  
Robert Borthuik, wryter,  
James Tailyeafeare,  
William Liddell, smyth,  
Jhone Corser, merchant,  
John Heriot, litster,  
Stewin Loche, glassin wryght,  
David Byrning, glassin wryght,  
Alexander Bartilmee, burneman,  
Richard Miller, butterman,  
Bartie Meane, coupar,

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Jhone Kyd,  
William Jolie,  
Thomas Strugeon, barker,  
James Sandelandis, merchant,  
Jhone Kid, worset maker,  
William Davidsons, sone and air to vmquhile  
Jhone Davidsons,  
Jhone Mewros, wryght,  
Patrik Murtho, sword slipper,  
Nicoll Blythman,  
Jhone Blythman, flescheor,  
Dutche Hunnis,  
Alexander Burnet,  
Hercules Arnote, baxter,  
Jhone Borthuik, baxter,  
Jhone Weymis, merchand,  
William Craig, maltman,  
Bernard Kellie, stabler,  
Jhone Millare, skynner,  
James Hamiltoune, skynner,  
Frances Bell, skynner,  
James Roger and his sones,  
George Lauder, maltman,  
William Courtes, skynner.

miltoun come to an hostlarie house, whair the lard of Westerhall was and auld Carmichall, wha, after the hous was brunt, randerit them selves vnder conditione to have thair lyves saif, and sua therafter cvme furth, But after their armor was tane fra thame, the said Claud schoottis Wasterhall with a dag, and sua the rest dispatched him, the vther they carie away prisoner.

1572  
January

The 25 of Januar, the Lord of Mortoun come to St Androis, for the chusing of ane new archbischoop; for the which purpose this edict was affixt vpon the kirk dure, and also vpon the abbey yeat, the 3 of Februar, being Sondag.

25

*The copie of the edict.*—For sa mekle as our soverane lordis lettres vnder his hienes grit seale, are directed to the Deane and Chapter of the metropolitan kirk of St Androis, grantand them licence to chuse an vther archbischope and pastor; the seat now vacand be the naturall death of the last archbischope therof, requyring vs to chuse sic one in name of the bischope and pastor of the same, as sall be devoit to God and to his hienes, and to his realme, profitable and faythfull; and to the effects that the said electione may proceid to the pleasour of God, and to the weill of the king, the kirk, and the realme, the sext day of Februaire nixt to cum is appointted, requyring and chargene heirfore all the godlie ministeris nominat and ap-

1572  
January pointted to represent the chapter in the Reformed Kirk ; that they be present at St Androis the said day, to doe and performe that whilk to thame in the said electione appertenis. Subscryvit at Leyth, the 24 of Januar, the yeir of God 1572.

The ministeris that are nominat to be present,

The Pryor of St Androis, Deane,

The Pryor of Portmook,

The Ministers of

Edinburgh,

Leyth,

Perth,

Carrail,

Couper,

Anstruther,

Dysart,

Kirkaldie,

Kinghorne,

Linlithgow,

Stirveling,

Dunbar,

Hadington,

Dunfermling,

Aberbrothe,

Fettercairne,

Dunse,

Methven,

Eglisgreig,

Forgoun in Mearnes,

Long Forgone in Gowrie,

Rossie,

Lucheris,

Darsie,

Kinnoquhor,

Lathrisk,

Markinche,

Scoine,

Maister Jhone Wynram.

February The secund of Februare, the post cyme to the Lord of Mortoun (as he was departed off the towne of Sanct Androis to goe to Dundie), that the duck of Northfolk



was beheadit, in the Toure of Londoun, with 24 with him or therby, which after was knowen to be a lie. 1572 February

The 6 day of Februar, which was Weddinsday, 6  
Mr Jhone Douglas, rector, gave specimèn doctrine (as they term it), in the oppin pulpet of Sanct Androis; the Lord of Mortoun beand present, and therafter sic as were named in the former edict, so mony as were present, were desyred to convene in the abbay for the electione of the archebischope.

Vpon Fryday thereafter, Mr Patrik Cousting\* preich-  
ed, which day the persones forenamed conveynt in the  
abbay, whair mekle reßsoning was about the chosing  
of the bischop. In the end the said rector was chosen  
archebischope, notwithstanding that many of the godlie  
ministeris were against it; and George Scot, minister  
of Kirkaldie, tuke an instrument that he condescendit  
not. Sonday the 10 of Februarè, Jhone Knox priech- 10  
ed: the Lord of Mortoun being present. He refused  
to inaugurate the said bischop, which the superinten-  
dent of Fyfe did, who, efter the sermond, enterit the  
pulpet, and made an exhortatione to him that suld be  
elected, tane out of the first chapter of Titus, of the  
office of a bischope. This exhortatione endit, he fol-  
lowed the order which is vused in electione of superin.

\* This seems to be the same person who was afterwards arch-  
bishop of St Andrews,

1572  
February tendentis, which the superintendent demandit, and the rector answerit; having them written in a papair, reading his answeris efter everie questione. Mr William Cocke, baillie of St Androis, answerit it in the name of the whole people; and when all was done, the bischope of Caitnes \*, Mr Jhone Spottiswood, superintendent of Lowthain, and Mr David Lyndsay, (which thrie, with the rector, sat before the pulpet on a furme, the tyme of the sermond), laid thair handis and embraced the said rector, Mr Johne Douglas, in taken of admisione to the archebischoprik. Being asked, gif any Simoniacall pactione was made or yit to be made with ony; answered, that none was nor suld be made.

Being requyred gif he suld be obedient to the kirk, and that he suld vsurpe no power over the same; answered, that he wald tak no more power, nor the counsall and generall assembleie of the kirk suld prescryve.

On the morrow, the Lord of Mortoun departed the toun of Sanct Androis towardis Leyth.

Tuo or thrie dayis befor his departour, word cumis to him that Dalkeyth was brunt by thame of Edinburgh; for they had bene in it, and brint 20 or 30

\* He appears to have been Robert Stewart, a brother of the earl of Lennox.

housses, slew thrie men out of hand, and crewellie hurt and spoyled dyvers, and samekle till they were repulsed to the towne and the castle. 1572 February

The same tyme word come that Pherniherst, with a cumpanie of hagbutteris, ware departed Edinburgh to burn Jedburgh ; as they were indeid, but the regent sent for reskew of the town, the Lord Ruthven, with horsmen and futmen, who, vpon Setterday the ix of Februar, come to Jedburgh, (the abbot of Dryburgh being in his cumpany.) But Pherniherst (wha was in Hayke or therabout, waittand vpon the rest of his cumpany), hearing tell of his cuming, sent Balcleugh to take some middis, that no blude suld be sched ; the vther said, it suld be against his will gif ony blude suld be spilt, and sua pat him off. Then the Lord Ruthven \*, and they that were with him, efter consultatione taken, thought best to pursew the vtheris, and to be the first onsetteris, whilk they did, and departed Jedburgh vpon Sondag at thrie houris in the morning, and sua come to Hayke. But Pherniherst, and theis that had hors, fled ; but thair were tane of the suddartis that come, to compt iii<sup>xx</sup> and x. Therefter they tuik the housses of Pherniherst and pat men in them ; and therefter the Lord Ruthven and Drybruch, come to Leyth hame agane.

\* Afterwards Earl of Gowrie.

1572  
February  
15  
16

The 15 or 16 day of Februar, the Lord Hereis come to Edinburgh, and on the morne come to Leyth, and spak the regent, and doeth what he can for ane aggreement. For the whilk purpose, the marschell of Berwick, Monsr la Crocke, Frenche man, and Mr Randolph, suld come in to further the same. God preserwe vs from gritter treasoun, which iustlie may cum gif men credit faythles men. Maister Randolph (who befoir had departed out of Edinburgh the first of Januare 1571), with the mershell of Berwick, come to Leyth the 21 of Februare; for they come befoir from Dalkeyth.

The Sondag foirsaid that the archebischope of St Androis was inaugurat, some mirrie head put vp this pasquill vpon the New Colledge yett, and upon the kirk duire.

#### INSOMNIUM.

*Dum secum ætheream gestans Ariadna coronam*

*Post Phœbum thecas pellit ad alta truces*

*Miranti in somnis, sublustri nocte potentis*

*Muneris Naturæ mens agitata fuit*

*Intuitus cœlum, cœli est mihi visa moveri*

*Nuta pollentis, machina tota die*

*Machina syderiis pulchre variata figuris*

*Visa est impositas accelerare vices*

*Non aliter distincta suis elementa moventur*

*Sedibus ætheras, sub regione poli.*

1572  
February

Subsidens gravitate solum, domus ampla legendis  
Piscibus oceanus, quam dea noctis agit.

Quadrupedum genus, et scindentis aera pennis  
Propetibus volucres queque animata vigent  
Singula proficiunt nullo sine murmure partes  
Natura impositas grataque vota canunt

Lumina dehinc vertens Mariana palatia versus  
Regales animi celsa virumque trias

Occurrunt vulpes, pallax vultuque tremendus  
Mustaffas, cuius protea dextra tenet

Obstupui tria monstra videns, que terrâ profundo  
Respirans gremio pignora clara tulit

Et procul O rerum iuvenes devotaque diris  
Pectora quæ tantæ vos tenuere moræ

Et triadem vocat Herrisonis vlulatibus ingens  
Tartarus, inque suas aluio            adesse sum

Singula numque suas peragunt animantia partes  
Vos tamen imbelles actio nulla movet.

*Vulpes.* Muneris immemorem triadem dant pingua mense

Fercula, visceribus non tribuenda tuis  
An tibi fœmineæ sunt hec concessa tērendo  
Inguine sic mandant alma statuta patrum?

*Proteo.* An tibi pampinea prelargum academia lympa?

Es dedit vt madidis contegerere comis?

*Mustaffe.* An tibi            tales quo viscera fœda repleres

Imperii partes rex Mariana tulit?

Hæc pateris rector num te cum pauperi sceptro

Muneris oblitum, grandia ferre putem?

Quin eandem opponis vulpi, quin cornua Baccho

Quin deus adiungens vbera lata boni?

1572  
February

Efficis vt tandem triadis pigmenta patescant  
Nostra quibus longe lumina decipiunt  
Sic ego sic fessis somnus me linquit ocellis  
Clara processit nocte abeunte dies.

This pasquile cuming abroad, it was not a little displeasing to Mr Robert Hamiltoun, Mr William Skene, and Mr Archibald Hamiltoun, wha tuke the same as put vp for thair caus in speciall, which I referre to him that knowes the same.

Mr Randolph and the mershell of Berwick, come in about the 19 of Februar, as commissioneris from the quene of England, to treat vpon agrieance betuixt the castle and toun of Edinburgh, and the kingis lordis that were in Leyth in this trublus tyme.

The copie of the letter\*.

This pacificatione proponed be them, seames to tend to little effect; for the adversaries hes'gewin a refusall to yield thair obedience to the king, or to allow of the present regiment. Whilk two poyntis are first proponet be the quene of England; and it appeiris now that scho is driven to come to that cours, for the saiftie of hir awin estate, and perswades the kynig of Fraunce to the lyk, be hir embassador Sir Thomas Knyght. It is thought, scho and France is agreed to the same end, and that Monsr l'Crock is on the way repairand hetherward. The quene of Englandis libe-

\* Here there is a blank in the original.

ralitie is not sa extendit, as the necessitie of our caus 1572  
 craves, whairthrouth we are put to na small hasard February  
 and strait with our men of weir, a dangerous people  
 to have to doe with. Corruptione amonges our selfis  
 makis the weir long. The Lord Fleming had v<sup>c</sup> men  
 enrolled to come in Scotland. This new friendship  
 betwixt France and England, stayes the king of France  
 to allow their passage, and they are in effect all stayed  
 except vii or viii<sup>xx</sup>, which the said lord intendis to im-  
 bark without armour or enseinye, as marineris, and  
 to land them at Crugletoun, the 4 of March 1572.  
 Thair consciences, there honouris, there lyves, and  
 thair heretage, they desyre to be assured and satis-  
 feid, &c.

In Februar, Mr Duncan Frisall, chanter of Ros, ane  
 the principall, with Adam of Gordoun, was slane be  
 ane vther of there awn men, in their sporting ; who  
 meitting vther with a certane company, made the maner  
 of a skyrmis, and so ane having a peice charged, not  
 knowing a bullet to be in it, schot the foirsaid that he  
 deid.

On Monunday the thrid of March the Lord Meffane March 3  
 was slane with a peice schot out of the castle.

The sext of March the assemblie sat doвне in St  
 Androis, Mr Robert Hamiltoun beand chosen mode- 6  
 rator, whairof many lyked the worst ; for thingis went  
 not as the most godlie and vpryght desyred : sua that

1572  
March

Mr Patrik Creich, who before for iust causes was depriuit of all functione in the kirk, was admitted agane to reid the prayeris in Hathingtoun kirk, gif he and the toun culd agrie : Yea, vtheris wald have had him reading whair ever he culd in ony place.

The superintendent of Fyfe, Mr Jhone Wynrome, gave ower his office of superintendent, be reassone of the archbischope that suld vse the office ; but the kirk present assembled, continewed him in his superintendencie, as of befoir, not subiect to the iurisdictione of the archbischope, but onlie to concurre with him in his visitationis or vtherwayis, as the said archebischope suld requyre, untill the nixt general assembly.

And siclyke the superintendent of Anguse and Lowthiane to continewe in thair offices while the said nixt assemblie, in maner foirsaid, without preiudice of the said archebischope of St Androis, except be vertue of his commissione.

Also the said assemblie or kirk, for certane causes moving thame, continewes Mr Jhone Douglas, archebischope, in the provestrie of the New Colledge while the nixt general assemblie, provyding alwayeis he be diligent in visitatione of his awin kirkis, perteaning to his iurisdictione ; and als that he be cairfull to foresie for ane to be placed in the said provostrie, that will have regard to the promotione of lettres therin and



of the weill of the colledge, conforme to the foundation therof.

1572  
March

Heir we may sie what corruptione the kirk is come vnto now, that puttis more vpon the bak of ane auld vnable man then ten persones are able to beir ; for after he was chosen bischope, the vniversitie continew- ed him rector, which is aneuch for ane to discharge ; now also he is continewed in the provostrie of the new colledge, whilk lykwayis is sufficient for ane manis charge ; besydis the bischoperick, whilk sex gude able men wold doe nae mair then discharge that cure, and yit notwithstanding all this is laid vpon his bak, a man vnable both to travell in bodie as a man sould doe, and more vnable of his toving to teich, the principall office of a bischope.

Jhone Knoxes protestatioun against this proceeding, especiallie against the electione of this bischope. The nixt assemblie was voted to have bene haldin in Saint Jhonstoun.

The Englis ambassadoris, to wit, Mr Randolph and the merschell of Berwick, takis thair progres furth of Leyth at this tyme, and come to St Androis on Tuys- day, the xi of Merch, and departed on Weddinsday, the xii day, to Dundie, whair they abode that nyght, and on the morne departed towardis St Jhonstoun, and so goes to Stirveling to visite the kingis grace, and so returnis agane to Leyth.

1572  
March

They were requested be the provest of St Androis to cum and mak mirrie in Dairsie, the prowest place (for the lord of Mortone had willit him so to doe), but Mr Randolph refused to goe, so that provisione was in waine. Nottheles, leist the provestis provisione suld altogether have bene lost, he called the new bischop, Mr Robert Hamiltoun, and the comissar of St Androis callit Mr William Skene in thair place that refused to come; and this was the first visitatione the bischope maid out of Sanct Androis. After this visitatione (as a mirrie man said) he past to Darsie kirk.

On Tuysday the 11 of Marche was ane carmis, and thair was slane 8 or 9 of Edinburgh, and 2 or 3 of Leyth, and ten or xi tane of them the day befoir. In this skirmis was ane suddart of Leyth callit Knox, being knawin to be so called, ane vther runes vpon him, and woundit him so that he is mutilat \*.

11 One of thir dayis Alexander Stewart, wha was captane of Blackness, sauld the same to them of Edinburgh, for the whilk he gat 300 crounis. His excuse was, the regent and the kingis lordis wald not give him ony thing to keip it with, whairby he was super-expendit.

\* A strong demonstration of the aversion in which the name was held.

On Thursday, in the nyght the 13 of March, was the place of Lethingtone tane be them of Edinburgh (some men of Captane Homes having the charge of it); but vpon the Sondag, ayerlie in the morning, befoir they gat provisione, the lord Lyndsay tuke it agane.

1572  
March  
13

A litle befoir this tyme, in the same moneth, was the lord Boyd appointed ane of the lordis of the kingis colledge of justice; and Mr Thomas M'Callione, wha the most part had remaned in Edinburgh, and was ane of the elderis thair, wha consentit to pray for the quene, was also in the moneth befoir this admittit to his place agane in the sessione.

The 21 of Marche they of Edinburgh brint two granges of corne that perteinet to the lord of Mortoun or his men; and thus they doe what they can to set out them selfis, and to get a name be ewill doing (which they culd not be weill doing), that they myght be the more esteamed, and to have a grit power.

21

The parliament which was continued befoir fra the 27 of February till this last of March, whairin was nothing done, except the consenting to the conyene of the new money.

The secund of Apryle was the myllis brocken about the toun of Edinburgh be thame of Leyth, and men of weir planted in Craigmiller, Merchinstoun, Reidhall, and Corstorphin, with ilk band of suddartis and horsmen to keip wictuallis fra cuming to Edinburgh.

April

1572  
April  
5

Setterday the 5 of Apryle was the towne of Edinburgh myllis brocken; at what tyme thair was no litle skirmis for defence of thair mylles, which cost thame 8 or 9 of thair men, and a grit number ewill hurt, and ane servand of the regentis slane.

Some of thir dayis preceeding in this weik, Drewrie the merschell of Berwick his wyfe come in, and held hous in Restalrig.

14 The 14 of Apryle was Mr Archibald Duglas tane and send to Stirveling to be kept, wha a little before had receivit fra Mr George Hacquet furth of Flanderis, fyve thousand crownes, to be send to them of the castle of Edinburgh, whairof he send but foure thousand; whairvpon the lard of Grange wrait a letter to the said Mr Archibauld, seing that fyve hundret myght have satisfeit for his panes, which letter was efter gottin with dyvers vtheris wrytingis, whairof mony were written with cypheris, to the number of 24 or 26; also it is reported that he suld have betrayed the lord of Mortoun, eather to have schot him with a dag, or vtherwayis I knaw not.

15 The horsmen that wer in Edinburgh the morne efter, which was the 15 of Aprile, cuming doun athort the lynkis of Leyth (for what purpos I knaw not), and tacking some stufte cuming in to Leyth, ischewed out vpon them and chased them in to Edinburgh, and tuik foure horsemen, wha, after they had gotten asise,

were hanged that same day. The word whair of cuming to Edinburgh, they hanged foure suddertis of Leyth that they had tane, and a gentleman called Douglas, for the foure theives that were hanged at Leyth.

1572  
April

The merschell of Berwickis wyfe maid grit requeist for Mr Archibald Douglas, wha was sent to Stirveling.

On Tuysday, the 22 day, Mr Randolph and the merschall of Berwick departed schortlie agane to Berwick; whither being sent for be the quene and counsall or no, I know not.

Weddinsday, the 23 of Apprile, certane suldartis of Captane Mitchalis went to Edinburgh, and bringand with thame the cumpanies of the towne, thought to have betrayed the abbay; and be vther tuo that were within it, wha as one of thame was oppening a windoo to let in the suddartis of Edinburgh (wha brought ledlderis for the same purpose), Captane Mitchalis page perceiving, cryed, 'fy, treasone, treasone!' whair at the said Captane Mitchalle starting up gat a suorde and cutted the houghis of his awin suddart as he was opening the windoo, or elis making the vtheris ledlderis fast, wha persaving thair purpose knawin, retired, and on the morne Captaine Mitchall hangis his awin suddart; the vther within escaped.

23

1572  
April  
25

On Fryday, the 25 day, the lord of Mortone, with the horsemen that were in Leyth, departis out of the toun of Leyth at 10 houris at ewin, to lye in wait for Claud Hamiltoun, whome they supposed had bene cumand with sum victuallis to Edinburgh. Now they that departed out of Leyth had send sum scurrionis befoir them, wha in the nyght perceaving sum lyght lounttis, thought it had bene thame whome they wated for ; and so approching, fand none but 22 suldeoris, wha were sent out of Edinburgh to the Blaknes, of whome they slew about 15 or 16, tuke fyve of the principalis and; brought to Leyth, and tuo escaped. The word was, that the 16 men were slane after they were takin in the feildis. The fyve brought to Leyth were hangit after thair incuming ; bot one of thame was sent to the abbay, which flowred Captan Mit-chalis gallous ; for the which vther two suddeartis of Leyth that were in Edinburgh were brocht furth and hangit vpon Mowtrais treis, foiranent the chapell.

The prince of Oringe schippes hes tane the towne of Breill in the passione weik, whair they reformed the kirk, in breaking downe of all the imagis, and efter departis, leaving for the keiping of the toun 3000 men. Duck d'Alva hearing therof, sendis certane men of warre Spainyardis to the ile of Waker, wha were refused in Middleburgh and in the Campher, and were resavit in Flusching. Bot schortlie

after, the toun moving sum querral against thame, hangis certane of their captanes, and dryvis away the rest that escaped. Charge gewin be the said prince that they receave not the duckis men, which gif they doe, he sall drowne the whole yle of Waker.

1572  
Aptil

Schortlie efter the hanging of the fyve above mentioned, thair cumes a drvme fra Edinburgh to Leyth, desyring that fair weiris may be used.

On Monunday, the 28 of Apprile, the larde of Corstorphine escaped verie narrowlie; for whose releif was slane ane horseman called Jhonstoun, ane vther taken, and a suldeore wha incontinent after thair tacking and cuming to Edinburgh, were sent forth to Mowtrais of the hill, and thair hangit, that they of Leyth myght see; and so thair is nothing but hanging on eather syde.

The Fryday preceeding, which was the 25 day, Mr Robert Gordoun, Huntleis brother, was slane be a man of his awin rackleslie, as he was clengene his dag; sua can the Lord, when he pleasis, cause the wickit ilk ane to destroy vther, whairof this may be a beginning of thair farther destructione.

About the 16 or 18 of this same moneth, they of the castle ordeaned to have tane the place of Dundas, notwithstanding that auld Lethingtoun \* and his vyfe

\* Sir Richard Maitland.

1572  
April

was therin, and that in this maner. They sent foorth certane out of Edinburgh, disguysed in ewill apparell, with daggis under thair claythis; and so to enter in at the iron yeat, having a 30 horsemen lyand vnder the brea reddie to have followed so sone as they had gottin within the yeat. Bot ane David Ramsay, servant to the larde of Dundas, going out of the place (to the toun of Dundas, hard adiacent to the place) to get a morning drink, perceaved tua men in the hous whair he enterit disguysed, whome he persavit to be feinyeit, runes his wayes to the place, whair vther two disaguysed were at the yeat standing, whome they took in and closed the iron yeat, and incontinent after that this said David was come foorth of the hous the vther tuo therin followes him, and schot thair daggis at him :. the one of thame he supposed to have bene the young lard of Barnbugall. So sone as he was in at the yeat, the horsmen lying in wait come about the place; but what become of the tua that was tackin in the place, I can not tell.

Becaus that the young lard of Barnbugle was at this interpryse, and also fearing that the lard suld have sufferit them of Edinburgh to have his place, he was sent for be the regent and his counsall, who after tuo or thrie dayis imprisoning gat out vpon soverteis that the rebelis suld not get his place. Yit, notwith-



standing, the regent put in sum hagbuteris, and the lard was comandit to warde in the toun of Ayre.

1572  
April

About the same tyme also the Hamiltounes conveying thair forces (Claud being principall), and thought to have gotten Kilsyth and to have tane it. But God disappointed the wicket of thair purposes.

The 28 of Apryle thair was ane witche brunt in St Androis, wha was accused of mony horrible thingis, which scho denyed; albeit they were sufficientlie proven. Being desyred that scho wold forgive a man, that had done hir some offence (as scho alledged), refused; then when ane vther that stude by said, gif scho did not forgive, that God wald not forgive hir, and so scho suld be dampned. But scho not caren for hell nor heavin, said opinlie, I pas not whidder I goe to hell or heavin, with dyvers vtheris execrable wordis. Efter hir handis were bound, the provest causeth lift vp hir clathis, to see hir mark that scho had, or to sie gif scho had ony thing vpon hir I can not weill tell, bot thair was a white clath like a collore craig with stringis in betuene hir leggis, whairon was mony knottis vpon the stringis of the said collore craig, which was tacken from hir sore against hir will; for belyke scho thought that scho suld not have died that being vpon hir, for scho said, when it was taken from hir, 'Now I have no hoip of my self.'

1572  
May  
5

Vpon Monunday, the 5 of May, 1572, they of Edinburgh brunt the lauche houses of Merchinstoun. The regent was to put sum men thair (which he did the morne after), to witt, 20 hagbutteris, and a doo-sone horsmen. Bot they of Leyth come to the red-dynge of the fyre, whair was thike scarmising, and grit schutting foorth of the castell, to the number of 40 schot of canone and mea. Bot yit they were durg in to the portis, and dyvers of thair men hurt; and in speciall Captane Scugall and sindrie hurt verie ewill. Ane canone bullet dingis the revell, the spurre, and the heill of the sock and hois of ane of the horsmenis leggis, without stirring the hyde. Blairwhainis hors was schot this day, wha with his cumpany gave the charge vpon the horsemen of Edinburgh, and chased thame in.

The Setterday preceeding thair was tuo of Leyth slaine, ane wha had his arme schot with a peice, and the other was Robene Semple sonne \*; and both in thair foolishness to goe so neir the wallis of Edinburgh, and vpon thair ordinance, which hes bene the caus of the slaughter of mony of our men, which they neidit not to have done.

\* At this time flourished a dull poet, Robert Sempill, whose pen was generally employed in celebrating the successes of the king's party.

The toun of Edinburgh at this tyme was in a verie strait poynt, for they laiketh both fyre and victuallis. The meill gave 6sh. 8d. the peke. All the poore are put out of the toun. Sic houses as they pleased they tak doun, and sellis the tymber therof be stone weght. At the begining it was sauld for iid, iiijd, and now it is sauld for 6sh. 8d. the stane wecht of tymber. Some vther housess they have clene demolist; sic as Mr James Macgillis, Mr James Watsones, Nicoll Vdwardis, and sindrie vther houses a grit monie, becaus the burges men wald not give thame money.

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*The copie of a bill send fra William Christisone, minister in Dundie, concerning the Ireland bischope; suld be tane in afoir.*

The 21 of Apryle, 1572, thair come to Dundie ane Ireland bischope, called the bischope of Cashall, having foure or fyve servantis or futemen, recommendeth vnto the baillies be ane wryting of the lord Argyles, to further him towardis Flanderis (whair, as he said,) he was to visit the scholes. But schortlie efter his arryvell in Dundie, he was stayed vpon ane wryting send be the regentis grace, and is wairdit in his ludgene, and his men put apart. Ane packet of lettres cassin in a dry closet be one of his servantis was suddenlie gottin agane vndefylit be one of the baillies, which packet, or mass of lettres, the lord of Buchquhane

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receavit, and send it to the regent ; amonges the which thair was found ane comissione open, and sealit with sindrie grit seales, directit to the pope and the king of Spaine, written in Lating ; the sowme whair of is, ane grit complent of the heavie subiectione of Ireland be thame of England, not onlie in the heid of their religione, but also of the materis of thair comone-wealth ; desyres, therefore, the king of Spaine, or elis one called Joannes of Austria, to vindicat vnto him the kingdome of Ireland, vnto whome the baronis, lordis, gentlemen, bischopes, and comonis offeris to rander townes, castelis, dominiones, and munitiones, and promittis thame selvis to assist with bodie and gudis, vnto the tyme that not only Ireland, but also this ile be subdewed, and brought bak to the auld catholicke fayth ; and thir thingis they humblie desyre to be furthered be the popes holynes, &c.

Within aught dayis after he was brought to St Androis and put in waird thair, whair he remanes at this present, the 23 of Maij. The word is that the quene of England has send for him.

18 The xviij of Maij monseur la Croce come into Leyth with the merschall of Berwick, wha laitlie had departed of befoir.

And in thir dayes they of Edinburgh come foorth and brought in a deid hors which laitlie had bene slane, which is a token of no gude cheir.

This La Croce had no comisione, but was send  
from his maister to see how all thingis stude heir, and  
brought letteris to the lordis, whair of heir is a copie  
of one written to the lord of Glencarne \*.

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. . . . .  
. . . . .  
. . . . .  
. . . . . and after returned agane to Leyth,  
without any farder doing but receaving of the sover-  
teis of the persones foirsaid. This iornay was thought  
of money to have made the Hamiltones the more  
bauld then afoir, for they daylie lay in the wood Ha-  
miltoun, skirmishing with Captane Crawford and his  
men, of whome they slew 7 or 8, and tuke als monie,  
and him self verie hardly escaped. It was reported  
that there men, who had before found sovertie to the  
regent, were at the doing of this defait to Captane  
Craufurdes men; thame selvis being absent, as thought  
they knew nothing of it. But he is a foole that trustis  
traytoris.

The second of Julii, or there about, was Patrick  
Home, captane to the regentis horsmen slane, in re-  
scewing a drift of cattell which Pherniherst had broght

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\* There is a considerable blank left in the MS. apparently for inserting the letter. All the part relative to the month of June seems to be lost.

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off a peice land of his, which he had gottin be foirfallie of Jamie Hamiltone, that slew the regent.

The fourt or fyft of Julij there were certane Frenchmen suddartis, to the number of 12 or 13 (wha before had come to Leyth a ten or xi weikis befoir), that went vp to Edinburgh; and when they departed Leyth, schew to Captane Home thair captane (who had weale intreated them, better then they deservit, thus schamefullie to have deceavit him), that they wold goe furth to draw on a skirmis, and so past to the tovne of Edinburgh, whair they were receavet, and at thair entres discharged thair peices for a volley; whair the lord Fleming being present (wha in the moneth preceding come out of France, and not long befoir this come to Edinburgh), some of the bullatis reboundis of the calsay and hurtis him. It is thought that thir French suddartis were persuadeth be Virak and La Crock, of whome we spak befoir, wha had gottin licence to cum doyme to La Crock.

At this tyme this La Crock and Mr Drurier, embassadoris or agentis of the king of France and quene of England, were diligent to have sum pacificatione (which alwayes they have been laboring since thair hither cuming), and now cuming to sum maner of appointment. Be thair meanis thir headis following were proponit, devysed, or dicted, I suld say, as is

supposit be Lethingtoun, some tymes secretare, and presentit to eather partie be a moyaner.

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The 26 of Julij, 1572. Gif peace and quyetnes be the end socht, lat no gude meanis be omitted, nor no lettis of small moment stickin at, but a plane dealing vsit.

*Ansuir.* Na thing is socht, for thair part, but peace and quyetnes, nor none sall deale more planelie nor they sall; for they seik no manis lyvis, landis, nor gudis, but the defence, restitutione, and preservatione of thair awin.

2. It is thought they are alreddie yieldit to the obedience of the king, and will also cum to the acknowledgement of the present regiment. Gif so be, resaving suretie, the mair planelie and neirlie they deale the better end will follow, and the gritter eas for both parteis, whilk man duell in Scotland with vther; and it will cut of the langsum travellis of the forreyen mediatoris, be whom it wil be difficile and lang space to gar eather partie vnderstand vther.

*Ansuir.* The first part of this article, concerning the kingis obedience and the present regiment, man be treated in the pacificatione. To the remanent, as of befoir, and salbe as schort in it as can be wished.

3. What forme of wordis were meittest to begin the abstinence on both parteis?

*Ansuir.* The lordis and nobilitie of Scotland bind-

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and for thame, thair adherentis, and assisteris, on the one part; and the lordis and nobilitie of Scotland convenit in Edinburgh, for thame, thair adherentis, and assisteris, on the vther parte.

4. Whither it is meitter to mak it as it were a contract, to be subsryvit be both the parteis; or rather everie partie to subscrivve thair awin part of the indent?

*Answer.* Best be indent, and everie partie to have ane thereof subscrivvit intercheangblie.

5. How mony on ilk syde sall subscrivve?

*Answer.* vi. and for there part the ducce, the erle of Huntlie, the lord Home, the lord Seatoun, the lord Fleming, and the captene; and for this syde, my lord regent, the erle of Mortoun, the lord Ruthuen, and sic vtheris as thei pleis.

6. Shall all the subiectis of Scotland be comprehendit vnder this abstinence, owther on the a syde or the vther; or then is thair a third partie of indifferent, for whom neather of the parteis now subscriveris will promeis; and gif sa be, they wold be specialie excepted, for avoiding of ambiguitie.

*Answer.* The whole man be comprehendit, for the exceptione wald be ower lang to name in particulare all thame that are termit indifferent: and seing the abstinence is but schort and temporair, it hurtis not to comprehend the whole for sic a space.



7. Althocht the present abstinence sall comprehend all : yit sum thair is, that we traist in honor, they will not desyre to be comprehendit vnder thair promeis, as in speciale the erle Bothwell, Beynstoun, Blak Ormestoun, Pate Wilsoun, and Bothwilhaugh ; the theives and brocken men of the hielandis, and bordoris, and vtheris that may be noted.

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*Answer.* They will neather comprehend the fyve above notit, nor yit promeis for thame, nor have nothing to doe with thame. As to the hielandis and bordoris ; becaus sum of thame hes bene actuallie in this caus with thame, they wald be comprehendit in generall, for the tyme of this abstinence ; but gif ony of thame in the meanetyme happinis to mak ony ryding in reiff or oppressione, they will concurre for punishing of thame : for they mean not heirby that ony impunitie be gewin to sic.

8. What persones were meittest to convene on ether syde, during the tyme of the abstinence to treat vpon the pacificatione, and in what place and ordor.

*Answer.* For the first meiting to be on the Galowley, the erle of Mortoun, with the erle of Huntlie, the lord Home, with the lord Ruthven, the abbot of Dumfermeling, with the prior of Coldinghame, the bischop of Orknay, with the bischop of Athenis, the lord Boyd, and Sir James Balfour, or thrie or four of thir for ilk partie ; and thair to conclude with the

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tua ambassadoris vpon the nixt meiting, and thir meitaris to be alterit as occasione sall serve.

9. Gif thair yit remane mea difficulteis befor the conclusion of the abstinence, it is to be thought how sum of iudgment, credit, and authoritie may meit for resolving of the dowsis.

*Ansuir.* Agreit, gif ony doubtis arise.

During the tyme of the abstinence, the toun of Edinburgh salbe maid patent to all the kyngis lieges to resort therto, as it was when vmquhile Matheu erle of Lennox, departed furth of the same in Februar was a yeir. The regent, gif he pleis, with the tuo bandis that were in the toun the tyme foirsaid sall repair therto; the townes men of weir salbe heallie voydit furth of the same; thair sall na mea forces be in the castell, nor was the tyme of the saidis vmquhile regentis departing foirsaid.

After lang travell tane be the French ambassade, Lacrook, and maister Drurier for the quene of England, ane abstinence and cession from armes was tane for tua moneths, whilk began the first of August; in the which tyme, all vther mater suld be comoned and agreit vpon, as is conteined in this printe indenture. Subscrivit be eather partie, at Leyth and Edinburgh, the penult of Julij, 1572.

*The form of the abstinence grantit be my lord regentis grace, and lordis subscrivand with him, to the lordis*

*within the castell and toun of Edinburgh and thair adherentis.*

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We the noble men of the realme of Scotland vnder subscrivand, following the instance and exhortatione, that the embassadoris of that most Christiane king of France, and the quenis maiestie of England, makis vnto vs, for our selvis or assisteris, pertakeris, and sic as dependis on vs be the tenor heirof, sweiris and promises ane abstinence and cession from hostilitie, betuixt vs and our adversaris, that presentlie be in armes against vs, thair assisteris, pertackeris, and sic as dependis on thame to begyn this present day, and till indure while tuo monethis be fullie outrun. During the whilkis, we oblis vs, and promises that with all sinceritie and suretie the said abstinence from weir, and cession from hostilitie sall continew; and sone as may be, that the nobilitie and estatiss of the realme salbe assemblit, for to advise be thair meanis, to rander the realme peaceable, and esteatis a gude and generall peace, whilkis with thair cumpaneis salbe in full suretie in thair cuming to that place, remaining and returning therfra, during the said space of tuo monethis. And that so holie a wark be not retardit, we accorde that during the trewis and abstinence, tua, thrie, foure, or fyve men, or fewar of eather partie, comunicat together in all suretie, in sic place as salbe agreed vpon to oppin vp the meanes for the moir

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facill atteaning to a gude peax ; and gif it chance (whilk God forbid), that at the assemblie of the said nobilitie and esteatis, the said peax and reconcilia-  
atione may not be concludit, we, be the tennor heir-  
of, for our part, referis the differences betuixt vs and  
our said adversareis, alsweill of the abstinence as of  
the peace, to the arbitrement of the said maist Chris-  
tiane king of France, and quenis maiestie of England ;  
and promises faythfullie, vpon our honoris, to accept  
and hald the conditiones concerning the peace and  
abstinence whilkis thair maiesties sall propone vnto  
vs. Provyding that the abstinence or pacificatione  
that may follow thairvpon, on no wayis tuiche the king  
our soverane lord and his estat, to the preiudice ther-  
of ; and that the persones herefter excepted be sub-  
iect to the iudgment and executione of the law, the  
said abstinence notwithstanding: they are to say, James,  
sometymes erle Bothwell, James Ormiston, some-  
tyme of that ilk, Patrick Hepburne, sumtymes of  
Beinstoun, Patrick Wilsoun, sumtyme servand to the  
said erle ; James Hamiltoun, sometyme of Bothwel-  
hauch, Jhone Hamiltoun, sumtymes provest of Both-  
well his brother, with the whole theives and brocken  
men, inhabitantis of the bordoris and heilandis, dis-  
turbaris of the publict peace betuixt this realme and  
England, and oppressoris of the peciable subiectis of  
this realme ; provyding alwayis that so many of the

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saidis bordoreris or hielandmen as hes tane part with ony of the parteis, be not during the abstinence persewed for thingis by past ; and of it they have done at comandement of eather partie, seing it is not meant that ony of thair faltis salbe covered, but only sic as have bene directlie done in the querrall of eather partie. Gif during the abstinence they do wrong to ony man, it is accorded that for the same they be punisit as appertenis, and no impunitie is socht for thair attemptatis comitted against England. But it is understand that they salbe answerable for the same, conforme to the lawis of the bordoris ; and to the end, that the subiectis of this realme may find thame selfis presentlie sumthing dischargit of the burding of the weir, and may with the gritter desyre embrace that peax when it sall pleis God to send it ; we aggrie, that induring the said abstinence, all the subiectis of this realme, of whatsumever qualitie or conditione they be of (except befor exceptit), may frielie and liberallie, trafficque, hant, speik, and convers together over the whole partis of this realme, vntrubled, molested, or impecheth, eather in bodie, gudis, be wordis, or deid in the law, or besydes the law for thingis past ; and takis our saidis adversareis now bearing armes against vs ; thair assisteris, pertackeris, and sic as dependis by thame mutuallie in our protectione, menteaning and comforting, togidder, faythfullie ane another against

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the iniurie that may be done be vs, or ony that we promeis for, or be ony of thame that are enemeis to the peax: mairover to mak the meanes of the peace the mair facile, and that be thair familiare comunicatione and conversatione, the hartis of them that able hes bene offendit may be mollifeit, and inducit to forget thingis that are past, be conference to be had with some of our adversaries, and thereafter acknowledge that we are all memberis of ane bodie, being of ane cuntrie, and naturall Scottismen. The comunication and conversation sall on no wayis be forbiddin be vs to thame, but permitted with all libertie ower all places, townes, and rowmes whairever it may be, provyding that the toun of Edinburgh be presentlie and first of all set at sic libertie as it was in befoir the king our soverane lordis gudschir, and lait regent, departed furth of the same, vpon the 27 day of Januar, 1571. And the castell therof to be keepit with no gritter garrisone nor it was at that tyme; as also all the vther townes of this realme, presentlie be set at the lyk libertie, and made patent, sua that no place therof salbe withhaldin, fortifeit or garnised, saiffing the castellis and fortresses, that of all auncietie, and befoir thir trubles, hes bene accustomet to be fortifeit and gardit; and that be this meane all men or thair servandis, without feir of men of weir, or violence, may frielie enter and dwell in thair awin houses, as sall pleis, thame induring the

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said trewis and abstinence. And forsamekle as mony persones within this realme hes induring thir trubles, seasit them selvis in vther menis landis, whairvpon thair is presentlie fructes that may be collected and win, induring the said abstinence; of the whilk debait may follow, that may stop or hinder the gude and halie effect that is to be hoipit of the said peax: we therfore accord and aggrie, that they wha hes the saidis landis, sall not preis to lift the saidis fructis, and speciallie the cornes, but sall live the same stakkit in heip vpon the feildis, or in grange vntuiched or disponit vpone ony way while the end of the said abstinence. And for observatione and fulfilling of all this above specifeit, we oblis vs vpon our faythis, honoris, and be our solemnpned aythis, and that we sall gare the whole be kepit be our selvis, our adherentis, and pertakeris with vs. In witnes heirof, we have subscrivit thir presentis with our handis, at Leyth, the penult day of Julij, the yeir of God, 1572 yeiris. Imprintit at Edinburgh, be Thomas Bassandyne.  
*Cum priuilegio regis.*

James, be the grace of God, king of Scottis, to our lovitis, . . . . . messengeris, our shreffis, in that part, coniunctlie and severallie, speciallie constitute, greting. Forsamekle as our ryght traist cusing Ihone erle of Mar, lord Erskin, regent, to vs,

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our realme, and lieges, and noblemen of our realme, followand the instance and exhortatione, that the ambassadoris of our darrest brother and sister, the most Christiane king of France and the quene of England, hes maid vnto thame for thame selvis, thair assisteris, pertackeris, and sic as dependis on thame, hes sworne and promiseit ane abstinence, and cessatione from hostilitie, betuixt thame that presentlie be in armes, to begin this present day, and to indure while tuo monethis be fullie outrun ; during the whilkis they have obleist and promiseit, that with all sinceritie and suretie, the same abstinence from weir and cessatione from hostilitie sall continewe : and sa sone as may be that the noblemen and esteatis of our realme salbe assemblit, for to advise be thair meanes, to render our realme peciable, and establis a gude and general peace ; quhilkis with thair cumpaneis salbe in full suretie in thair cuming to the place remaining, or returning therfra, during the said space of tuo monthis. And that so halie a wark be not retardit ; it is accordit, that during the trewis and abstinence, tuo, thrie, foure, or fyve, mea or fewer of eather partie, may comunicat together in all suiretie in sic place as salbe agreit vpon, to oppin vp the meanes for the moir easie atteaning to a gud peax. And gif it chance (as God forbid), that at the assemblie of our said nobilitie and estaitis, the said peace and reconciliatione may not be



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concludit, the difference betuixt thame, alsweill of the abstinence as of the peax, are referrit to the arbitri- ment of our saidis darrest brother and sister, the maist Christiane king and the quene of England ; and pro- meist faythfullie, vpon thair honoris, to accept and hold the conditiones concerning the peace and abstinence, whilkis thair maiesties sall propone vnto thame, pro- vyding that the abstinence or pacificatione that may follow thervpon, on na wayis tuiche vs or our estait to the preiudice therof. And the persones heirafter excepted be subiect to the iudgment and executione of our law, the said abstinence, notwithstanding : they are to say, James, sumtyme erle of Bothwell, James Ormistoun, sumtyme of that ilk, Patrick Hepburne, sumtyme of Benestoun, Patrick Wilson, sumtyme servand to the said erle, James Hamiltoun, sumtyme of Bothwelhauch, Jhone Hamiltoun, sumtyme pro- vost of Bothwell, his brother, with the whole theivis and brocken men, inhabitantis of our bordoris and hielandis, disturberis of the publict peax betuixt our realme and England, and oppressoris of the peciable subiectis of our realme. Provyding alwayis that sa mony of the said bordoreris or hieland men, as hes tane part with ony of the parteis, be not during the abstinence persewed for thingis by past, and of it they have done at the comandment of either partie ; seing it is not meant that ony of thair faultis salbe coverit, but

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onlie sic as hes bene directlie done in the querral of eather partie. Gif during the abstinence they doe wrang to ony man, it is accordit, that for the same, they be punist as appertenis; and na impvntie is socht for thair attemptatis comittit against England; but it is vnderstand, that they salbe answerable for the same, conforme to the lawis of our bordoris. And to the end, that the subiectis of our realme may find thame-selvis presentlie sumthing dischargit of the burding of the weir, and may with the gritter desyre embrace the peace when it sall pleis God to send it; it is aggreit, that induring the said abstinence, all the subiectis of our realme, of whatsumever qualitie or conditione they be of (except before exceptit), may frielie traf-ficque, hant, speik, and converse together owre all the partis of our realme, vntrublit, molestit, or impechit, owther in bodie, gudis, be wordis or deid, in the law, or besydis the law for thingis past; and hes tane ilk ane vther with thair assisteris, pertakeris, and sic as dependis on thame mutuallie in vtheris protexion, menteaning and comforting togidder faythfullie ane another against all the iniurie that may be done be thame, or ony that they may promeis for, or be ony of thame that are enemeis to the peace. Mairover, to mak the meanes of the peace the mair facile, and that be thair familiare communicatione and conversatione the hartis of thame that able hes bene offendit may

be mollifeit and inducit to forget thingis that are past ;  
by conferance to be had amongis thame, and thereafter  
acknowledge that they are all the memberis of ane  
bodie, being of ane cuntrie, and naturall Scottismen,  
the conversatione and communicatione sall on na wayis  
be forbiddin to thame, bot be permitted with all li-  
bertie ower all places, townes, and rowmes, whairever  
it may be, provyding that the tovn of Edinburgh be  
presentlie and first of all set at sic libertie as it was in  
before vmquhile our darrest gudschire, and lait re-  
gent, depart furth of the same vpon the xxvii day of  
Januar, 1571 yeiris ; and our castell therof to be  
kepit with no gritter garrisoun nor it was at that tyme,  
as also all the vther tovnnes of our realme, presentlie  
set at the lyk libertie and made patent ; sua that na  
place therof sall be withhalding, fortifeit, or garnissed,  
saiffand the castelis and fortraces that of all ancientie,  
and befoir thir trubles hes bene accustomed to be for-  
tifeid and gardit : and that be this meane, all men or  
thair servantis, without feir of men of weir or violence,  
mey frelie enter, and dwell in their awin houses, as  
sall pleis them induring the said trewis and abstinence.  
And forsamekle as mony persones within our realme  
hes induring thir trubles, seasit thame seluis in vther  
menis landis, whairvpon thair is presentlie fructis that  
may be collected and win during the said abstinence ;  
of the whilk debait may follow, that may stop or hin-

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der the gude and halie effect that is hoipit of the said peace : it is accordit and aggreit, that they wha hes the saidis landis sall not preis to lift vp the saidis fructis, and specialie the cornis, bot sall leive the same stakkit in heip vpon the feildis, or in grange, vntuiched or disponit vpon ony way while the end of the said abstinence ; and for observatione and fulfilling of all this above specifeit, they have oblist thame, vpon thair faythis, honoris, be thair solempne aythis, that they sall gar the whole be kepit be thame selvis, thair adherentis, and pertackeris with thame, lyk as at mair lenth is conterit in the severall lettres interchangeable made, subscrivit, and delyverit heirvpon. Our will is heirfore, and we charge you straitlie, and comandis that incontinent, thir our lettres sene ye pas to the mercat croces of the heid burrowes of our realme, and vtheris places neidful, and thair be oppin proclamatione in our name and authoritie, mak publicatione heirof, that none pretend ignorance of the samen : and that ye comand and charge all and sindrie our lieges, inhabitantes of our realme, that they and everie one of them observe and keip the said abstinence, and on na wayis presume or tak vpon hand to doe or attempt ony thing tending vnto the violatioun therof, vnder the pane of deid, our letters delyvering thame be you deulie execute and indorsat agane to the berare. Gewin vnder our signet, at Leyth, the pe-

nult day of Julij, and of our reigne the sext yeir,  
1572. *Per actum secreti consilii.*

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Efter long travell tane be the French ambassador La Crock, and Mr Drurier for the quene of England, ane abstinence and cession from armes was tane for tuo moneths, as said is. The next day after, which was Thursday the last of Julij, the men of Edinburgh who were banisit, and had remaned in Leyth, and now through long watchingis and daylie skirmishingis (for they were alwayis als forward as the suddartis that took wages) were become gud suddartis, prepared thame to go to the toun (which was appointed to be patent), in thair armoris all in ordor, whairwith the castle men, nocht content, wald have had thame stayed for that nyght; for the whilk purpose, the embassadeure comandit thame to cum back agane when they ware at the Canogait reddie to enter into the towne; but no comand wald stay thame, and so they enterit into the tovne, standing all nyght vpon thair awin gardis into thair armes.

31

As they come into the toun, Jhone Brand minister, and ane that feared God and the kingis actione, being in the formest ranke as they enterit the portes, heaving on his govne, and a byble vnder his oxster, and Jhone Durie, exhortare in Leyth, and a gud suddart of God and the kingis, cuming behind with his armour and callevare vpon his shulder; one of Edin-

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burgh sayis to Jhone Brand, what meanis this? ye cum with your gowne, and a buke vnder your oxster, and Jhone Durie with his callever, and tuo dagis at his belt; Jhone Brand answeris, it meanes we cum to offer peax, whilk gif ye refuse, ye sall have weir.

It was iudged, and be sum opinlie spokken, that gif the men of Edinburgh had not enterit that nyght as they did, thair had bene no entres at that tyme into the toun; and that they of the castle did onlie the thingis they aggreit to, but to get sum wiwaris, becaus befor the toun was famished; and that also the men of Edinburgh that had bene in Leyth had send up that same day a grit deale of victuallis, bayth of wine and vther stuffe, out of Leyth for thair provisione. Tyme will try.

Also it was reported, that they of the castell wald have had Jamie Hamiltoun of Bothwelhauch conteaned vnder the assurance.

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1

On Fryday the first of August, the regent come vp to the toun of Edinburgh at what tyme this proclamatione was proclamed.

The secund day of the nixt moneth is appointed to the parteis specifeit to meit for the comoning of all matteris.

Before the concluding of this abstinance and cessatione of armes, becaus the men of Edinburgh had susteanet grittest lose, be the demolishing of thair houses, and spoiling of the thingis within the same;

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sua that nae forayne enemye culd or wald have done half so ewill as thea traytoris of Edinburgh have done in distroying so mony fair houses and sumptuous buildingis as is done within that toun ; they (I say) who had fled to Leith persaving this abstinence, and not knowing how thingis suld fall out, made this band and league amonges thame selvis, as followes :

We wha have subscrivit this vnderwritten wryting, vnderstanding the grit merceis of God vttered and schawin to vs in the planting of his evangle within this realme, and speciallie within the burgh of Edinburgh, wharin sumtymes we were placed, and of the innumerable benefitis powred out vpon vs of his meir gudnes, without our deserving: not onlie in delivering of vs out of the most vile slaverie, bondage, and creweltie of the devill, and of that Romane antichrist, his lievetenent, but also of strangeris seiking vs to be conquest, and to bring vs into thirlege: as als fra pestilence, hunger, and vther plagues, when most iustlie we deservit to have bene consumed therewith; and that lastlie, for our grit ingratitude and vnthankfulness, after so many merceis schawin, has exiled vs fra our houses, tread of leaving, and possessiones, as ane father nurturing and correcting his childe whom he loves, not in ane strange cuntrie, nor far fra our awin houses, but whair daylie we may with our eyes behold thame. And yit allace hes made sic the instrumentis as sum-

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tymes professit publictlie the evangle with vs, alsweill of that exile, as of the banishing of our trew pastoris, propheitis, and preicheris fra vs ; as als of the plane refusall and denyell of that iust authoritie, to wit, the kingis majestie, whom God of his mercie has plased above vs, which having no regard to thair defection, but most vnnaturallie and crewellie has sought and seikis our lyves, hes spendit and consumed our substance, and gudis, pulled downe and sacket our houses, and done that in thame lyes, be the destroying of the whole policie within that town, to mak the same to be vtterlie sacked, and never heirefter inhabited. We, therefore, in the feare of God the Father, of his Son our Lord Jesus Christ, and of the Holie Spirit, takand to witnes his holie name, promittis, bindis, and oblissis vs faythfully, that we in all tymes herefter, with our lyves, landis, and gudis, and all that we may mak, sall set forwart and promote the blessed Evangle of our Lord Jesus Christ, professit be vs within this realme, with his true and faythfull ministeris, preicheris therof, and menteane with the kingis majestie our soverane lordis authoritie, his regent and nobilitie assistand to his grace ; and sall neather for love of friendis, the tynsall of landis or gudis, or for ony vther occasione, doe or procure ony thing that may tend to the preiudice of the samyn, and that our dewtie and obedience may be made knawin and patent to the world,



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we sall subiect, and be these presentis subiectis vs to the discipline of the law of God, and iust lawes of this realme ; and gif ony of us sall happen (as God forbid we doe), to disagrie or fall at variance, ane with ane vther, we be thir presentis, subiectis vs brotherlie to be corrected be our vther brether subscriyving thir presentis, or sa mony of thame as sall be thought most meit for aggreing or dressing of us. And in cais it can not that way be agreed, we sall vnderly the iudgement of the prowest and baillies of Edinburgh, conforme to the lawes. And sicklyk we and ilk ane of vs sall assist, concurre, and fortifie and tak plane part with vtheris, in the feare of God and obedience of our kyng and his regent, against his grace and other adversaries of the castell and toun of Edinburgh, thair assisteris and pertackeris, in our iust defence, lesome and ressonable caus ; and gif invasione beis made be thame against ony of vs, we and everie ane of vs, sall at our vtter power and whole force, ioyne with our saidis brether, for resisting our saidis adversaries, and sall neather hear, see, nor know the skayth of our saidis brether, but we sall oppose our selfis thereto. And forder obliss vs and ilk ane of vs, that we sall never mak defectione fra this our band, nor our saidis brether, vnder the pane never to be reput heirefter of that number, but to be excommunicat therfra, as apostates and defectioners fra our fayth, truth, and cuntrie, and not to be ioynit agane, whill we mak publict satis-

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August factione and amendis therfore. Subscyrvit with our handis, at Leyth, the 2 day of Julij, 1572.

About the end of Julij, or elis in the begynning of August, was the erle of Northumberland beheadit in York, on the thrid day that he come out of Berwick, or elis come thair.

The Ireland bischope before mentionet, escaped out of the castle of St Androis, the viii of August, about ane and twa in the night, whidder be negligence of the keaperis whom he caused drink hard the night befor, with vtheris in the place, till midnight, or be policie or craft, I dar not affirme; bot he came ower a grit part of the wall out at a windoe, with his scheitis rewen and made in lenth.

6 The sext of August began the general assemblie of the kirk, haldin at Perth, vnto whome Mr Knox wrytis as followes :

Albeit I have tane my leive, not onlie of you (deir brethren), but also of the whole warld, and all warldlie affairis; yet remaining in the flesch, I could not nor can not ceis to admonis you, of thingis which I know to be prejudiciall to the kirk of Christ Jesus within this realme. Above all thingis preserve the kirk from the bondage of the vniversiteis. Perswade them to ruell them selfis peaciablie, and order thair scholes in Christ, but subiect never the pulpet to thair iudgment, neather yit exempt them from your iurisdictione.

Tak heid that nothing proceed vnder your name be  
 particulare factiones. Farther, I have communicated  
 my mynd with thir two deir brethren, (meaning Mr  
 Jhone Wynrome, superintendent; and Mr Robert  
 Pont); heir thame, and doe as ye will answir befor  
 God, wha presentlie workis potentlie, how blind that  
 ever the world remanes; fight ye in the trueth, and  
 for the libertie of the same, and be assured to triumphe  
 with Jesus Christ, to whose myghtie protectione I vn-  
 fainedlie commit you. Of St Androis, the 5 of August,  
 1572.

With this letter, which was sent be Mr Jhone Wyn-  
 rome, superintendent of Fyfe, and Mr Robert Pont,  
 were sent thir articles following :

First desyring a new act to be made, ratefeing all  
 thingis concerning the king and his obedience, that  
 were inacted of befor, without any change, and that  
 the ministeris that have contravenit the former actis to  
 be corrected as accordis.

2. That sute be made to the regentis grace and  
 nobilitie, menteaning the kingis caus, that whatso-  
 ever proceedis in this treatie of peace, they be mynd-  
 full that the kirk be not prejudged therby in ony sort,  
 and that speciallie of the ministrie that have bene rob-  
 bed of thair possessiones within the kirk during the  
 tyme of thir troubles, (or otherwayis dyng and iniur-  
 ed), may be restored.

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3. To sute at the regentis grace, that no gift of ony bischoprik or other benefice, be gewin to ony person contrare the tenor of the actis made in the tyme of the first regent of gude memorie; and they that are gewin contrare the said actis, or to ony vnqualifeit persone, may be revocked and declared null, be ane act of secreit counsall; and that all bischoprikis vacand may be presented and qualifeit personis nominat thervnto within ane yeir after the vaiking therof; according to the order takin in Leyth be the commissioneris of the nobilitie, and of the kirk, in the moneth of Januare last. And in speciall, to complene vpon the giving of the bischoprik of Ros to the Lord Methwene.

4. That no pensiones of benefices, grit or small, be gevin be simple donacione of my lord regent, without consent of the possessoris of the said benefices having title thereto, and the admissiōe of the superintendent or commissioner of the province whair this benefice lyis: or of the bischopis lauchfullie elected according to the said ordour tackin at Leyth, and desyre ane act of counsall to be made therevpon vnto the next parliament, whairin the same may be speciallie enacted, with inhibitione to the lordis of sessione, to give ony lettres or decreitis vpon sic simple giftis of benefices or pensiones not being gewin in maner above rehersit,

and that the kirk present assemblit, declair all sic giftis null so far as lyes in thair power. 1572 August

5. That the first forme of presentatione to benefices whilkis were in the first and second regentis tyme, be not changed, as now it is comonlye. But that this claus be conteaned in the presentationes, that gif the persone presentit makis not residence, or beis sclanderous, or found unworthie eather in lyfe or doctrine, be the iudgment of the kirk, (to the which alwayis he sall be subject), or meit to be transportit to an vther rowme at the sight of the kirk, that the said presentatione, and all that sall fall thervpon, sall be null, and of na force nor effect; and this to have place also in the nomination of the bischopis.

6. That an act be maid in this assemblie, that all thingis done in preiudice of the kirkis assumptione of thridis, eather be papistis or vtheris, in giving of fewis, lyfrentis, or takkis, or ony vtherwayis disponing the said assumit thridis, be declared null, with ane solemne protestatione that the whole kirk dissasentis thereto.

7. That an act be made decerning and ordeaning all bischopis admit be the order of the kirk, now receavit, to give accompt of thair whole rentis and intro-missiones therewith, anes in the yeir, as the kirk sall appoint, for sic causes as the kirk may easilie consider the same to be most expedient and necessar.

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8. Anent the iurisdictione of the kirk, that the same be determined, in this assemblie, becaus this article has bene very long postponed.

9. To mak sute to the regent and counsall, for remedie against messmongeris and excommunicat personis.

Last, That order be tane against the procuratoris of the kirk, that procures against ministeris and ministrie, and for suiting of iustice of the kirkis actiones in the sessione.

Thir articles were redd in the assemblie, with the former lettre, but wha were appointed to be suitteris at the regent and counsallis handis, as yet I know not. But the assemblie wrait agane an answir to Mr Knox, thus :

The myghtie comfort of the Halie Gaist mote strengthen you vnto the end.

We have received your writing (deare brother in the Lord Jesus), together with certane articles and questiones, the quhilkis we have red and diligentlie considered, and findis the same both ressonable and godlie ; and therefore we have tane lyk order as we culd for the furtherance therof, as thir our brether beireris of this present, will declair vnto you. Beseikand you to comfort your self in the merceys of God through Jesus Christ, we think it not meit to truble you presentlie with long lettres, seing our myndis are all bent

(as we belive) to set forwart the self same caus which our God has put in our handis, to the advancement of his glorie, and comfort of his kirk, through Jesus Christ; to whois protectione we commit you. At Perth, the 10 of August 1572, your brether and fellow memberis in Jesus Christ;

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Mr Jhone Wynrhame,

David Lyndsay,

Robert Pont,

Jhone Row,

Bischop of Caitnes,

Jhone Erskin,

Jhone Spotswood.

Thir questiones were also presentit at this said assemblie, which suld have bene wryttin after the former articles.

Gif a bischop being elected to a grit diocie, may be admitted besydes to the office of rector of an vniversitie, or provost of ane college, or ony vther lyke charge, or to bruke ony inferior benefice?

Gif controversie ryse vpon doctrine, before whom sall it be intreated?

Whair bischopis are placed according to the order of the kirk, whidder sall the superintendentis iurisdictione expyre or not?

Gif ony abbot may set his whole abbacie in prestidice of his successoris and of the ministrie, for the half of the thing it payed befoir or vtherwayis, farre within the availle?

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To this assemblie the toun of Edinburgh, after they were cum hame agane to thair houses, (I meane of thame that were banist and remaned not in the toun, nor tuke part with the traytoris of the castell), send thair commissioneris, as alwayes befoir they had done at everie assemblie; and becaus they were destitute of ministeris, desyred that they myght choise whome they pleasit to have for their minister; becaus Mr Jhone Craig and they had gewin vther over; for they thought that the said Mr Jhone Craig, wha was ane of thair ministeris before, sweyed ower mekle to the sword hand: I will say no more of that man, but I pray God continewe with him his holie spreit, and that he be not drawin asyde be Lethingtoun.

The assemblie grantit vnto them to choise whair they pleased, with a charge also to the persone whome they wald desyre to obey, except of the two ministeris of Dundie and St Jhonstoun: and therafter the said commissioneris come to Jhone Knox, (now thair onlie minister at this present, albeit he was dwelling at St Androis), to seik his advice herein; and also delyverit to him this lettre following, direct from the kirk and brethren of Edinburgh, for to will him retorne hame agane, as followes:

The comfort of the halie spreit for saluatione. Of the restoring of vs (vndeservit) of our God, to this our toun; we beleive ye are not ignorant, and yet we



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can not excuse our sleuth, that hes not as yit advertised you therof. But being trubled to obtene that libertie which we had befoir our departing therfra, whairin as yit we are occupied, was and is the caus of our slaknes, whilk we doubt not ye will accept in good part. Our esteat present in that thing whilk is to vs most deare, is that ministeris may be had, of whome for the present we are destitute, (you onlie excepted), moves vs more then ony vther thing. And for that purpose, and treating of sic vther thingis as concerne the stait of the kirk, we directit Nicoll Vdward, with Jhone Jhonstoun, this berare to the assembleie at St Jhonstoun, who will certifie you of thair answir which they thair reseaved. Bot because ye are he to whome we are mareit under, and we to you, we wald crave and craves of God, gif habilitie of your persone myght sustene travell, that anes againe your voce myght be hard among us, and that thing reformed whilk sumtymes be you vnder God amonges vs was planted; leath we are to diseas or hurt your persone ony wayis, and far lethere to want you, we being so ioyned together in love be God; and knowing your cair to be no les for vs than it has bene heirtfore, we referre your returning to your self, and your iudgement. But gif it myght stand with your will, we desyre the samyn maist earnestlie. And knawing the sufficiencie of the beraris, wha will declair our myndis to you at grit lenth, whairin ye sall give them credit.

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We comit you to the protectione of the Eternall. Of Edinburgh, the fourth of August 1572. Your brethren and children in God, with thair names subscribed with thair awin handis.

The presenteris of this letter, were the commissioneris of the said kirk of Edinburgh, as said is, (to wit) Nicoll Vdwart, and Jhone Jhonstoun, scribe, whilk lettre when they had delyvered, and schawed the gude will and answir of the generall assemblie, requyred his advise for the chois of a minister, the superintendent of Lowthiane being present, and after sum ressoning, they concludet vpon Mr James Lowsone, then subprincipal of the colledge of Aberdene, placed there be the first regent, the Lord of Murray.

Maister Knox, after the reading of his lettre, granted to the comissioneris and bereris foirsaidis to retorne agane to Edinburgh; but with this conditione, that he suld not be desired nor preissed in ony sort to temper his toving, or ceis to speik against the treassonable dealingis of the castell of Edinburgh, whose tressonable and tyranous doingis he wald cry out against so lang as he were able to speik; and therefore willed them to signifie the same vnto the whole kirk and brethren of Edinburgh, leist they suld afterward either repent of his austeritie against the said castle, or yit leist they should feare to be wors intreated for his caus: whilk wordis, or the lyk in effect, the said Mr

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Knox oftymes repetit to the brethrene of Edinburgh, when he was returned, befoir he enterit the pulpet. Bot they planelie confesset they never meant nor thought to put a brydle to his tvnge, but willed him to speak his conscience as he had done afoir tymes.

7

The 7 of August Mr Knox departed out of St Androis, not without dolour and displeasour of the few godlie that were in that toun, but to the grit ioy and pleasour of the rest, and specialie to the Balfouris, Kirkaldies (few thought they be), and Hamiltonis (enemies to God and to the king) and thair factione, for his severitie vsed against them in his sermondis; reproving thair tressonable dealing, falsett, deceat, and trubling of this comon wealth, quhilk they culd not abyde. Bot especiallie the Hamiltones, becaus his inveying against thair tressonable murther of the first regent. For all the tyme he was in St Androis (quhilk was fra the begining of July, in anno 1571, till the 17 of August, in the year following, 1572) he preichit everie Sonday, and teichet the prophet Daniel, in the middis of the xi chapter, alwayis applying his text (as a faythful precheour ought to doe) according to the tyme and state of the people, whairby the wicked and trubleris of Godis kirk myght be knowin and paneted out in thair culloris. Bot contrarilie Mr Robert Hamiltoun, the minister of the said toun, in all his sermondes vsit

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sic generalitie (as alace the maist part of ministeris doe, becaus they have no will to tak vpon them displeasure of men for the reprovng of vice) that his sermondis myght be applyed to those that susteaned the gude caus, alsweill as to the trubleris of this commonwealth, and the pure kirk within it, quhais doingis he alwayis went about to suppres and cover, that the same suld not appeir to the eyes of the multitude; thinking it sufficient (as oftymes was said) to have ane approved author for ony thing he spak. Bot the word of God aught to be distributed as a gude and faythfull phisitione (quhilk a minister aught to be to the saule and conscience of men) doeth his medicine; that is, according to the disease of the patient, and not to think it sufficient to give vnto him gude medicine; for that which is proper for ane is death vnto another, and that medicine that is proper and also profitable for one diseases, is most noysome and hurtfull to ane vther; therefore, as I have said, the medicine most be applyed as is most convenient for the curing of the disease of the seik; ewin so most and aught everie trew preicheor distribute the medicine of Godis word; but how that is done now a dayis (alace) is moir than evident. Be-  
caus, I say, Jhone Knox did thus vse himself in his sermondis, it generit vnto him a deadlie heatreant and envye of all the foirsaidis in St Androis, and especiallie the principalis of the new colledge and the auld (a

few excepted); and yit be outward gesture, and befoir his face, they wald seme and appeir to favour and love him above the rest.

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The caus why I speik this is, that at the inauguration of the bischope of St Androis foirsaid, altogether against the mynd of Mr Knox, as he at that tyme oppinlie spak in pulpet, he gritlie inveyed against sic ordour and doingis as then was vused. Bot Mr Jhone Rutherford, provest of the auld colledge, called St Salvitoris colledge, said that Mr Knox did so earnestlie speik against that doing, and macking of Mr Jhone Douglas bischope, becaus he gat not the bischopricke him self. Whairvnto Mr Knox maid answir the nixt Sondag in the pulpet, that he had refused a gritter bischopricke than ever it was, which he myght have had with the favour of gritter men than ever the vther had this bischopricke, and yit did refuse; bot onlie that he spak for discharge of his conscience, and that the kirk of Scotland suld not be subiect to that ordour which then was vused, considering the lordis of Scotland had subscrivit and also confirmed in parliament the ordour alredie and long agoe appointed in the buke of discipline. Also the said Mr Jhone Rutherford at what tyme one of his colledge, called Mr Homere Blair, hath made orasone, invective against St Leonardis colledge, affirming them to be als guilty of the death of Mr William Ramsay, as Jamie of Both-

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wellhaugh was of the regentis slaughter, whome he schot with a culvering in Linlithgow, with other mony iniuries against the young men of that colledge; Mr Jhone Rutherfurde, I say, fearing Mr Knox suld have spooken sumwhat in his next sermonde against the said orasone, or elis sumwhat for the said young men, or regentis of the colledge, sendis to Mr Knox his lettre following.

Brother in the Lord Jesus, I am within this half houre advertised, that some of the regentis of St Leonardis colledge have bene at you with sum report of the thingis that was spooken in the schooles be ane regent of our colledge, in his oratione publict; I desyre you not to medle with thea matteris while both the parteis be hard, for the auld saying is trew, wha ewill speikis ewill heiris. It was reported what answir I gaive to the bischope be the beddell, of the quhilkis there was thir wordis, as was referrit be sum to you; that I said Couper in Fyfe and St Jhonstoun was ever authoris of seditiounes; bvt this I said, that in Couper and in St Jhonstoun was oft seditioun, and sua the personis of thea tovnies suld bene ware withall (lat men tak it as they pleis): I wald the wordis were fals that I said. Be Godis grace in St Androis sall none be mair willing of quyetness nor I; and I assure you, that I never knew nor in ony sort what he that made the oratione was to speik, while I hard him in the

schoolis. And yit, when all salbe tried before the honestest of the vniversitie, it wilbe fund vtherwayis nor man speikis ; and gif thair be fund fault with the man, it sall not defend him. Bot in the meane tyme, I wald ye medled nothing with the mater as it apperteinis nothing to you, and I assure you that we have als gud zeale in this colledge towardis Godis word, and als gude opinione of you as ony vther ; ye will remember heirefter of this my advertisement. Comit-ting you to Godis protecsione. Not willing to truble you eather with wryting or talking, your assured brother in the Lord Jesus,

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Jhone Rutherford.

The nixt Sonday Mr Knox into the pulpet disclosed the contentis of this letter send vnto him, without the expressing of his name that send it, schawing that hitherto none could accuse him of medling in matteris which apperteineth not vnto him ; notwithstanding, whair offences were oppinlie comittit, he of his office aught to reprove thame whidder they ware done or not ; and that he knew the pairt of the young men of St Leonardis colledge to be vpryght and iust in that matter, and therefore he wald iustifie thair caus. Bot for the plane declaratione of this mater we man open the same, as the treuth is, and quhilk I knew to be maist true indeid.

Thair hes ever bene of auld a privie heattreat, of the

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other tuo colledges against St Leonardis, which began sumwhat more to increas efter the departour of the man of God, Mr Gudeman, out of St Androis, wha thair was minister; in whais rowme Mr Robert Hamilton foirsaid enterit and was minister. Now when the trubles began, after the kingis slauchter, that was murthered be the quene, with whome the Hamiltones ioyned (to thair wrack), the said Mr Robert began to be sumwhat caulder in his sermondis then he was wont of befor; for in the tyme that my lord of Murray had the handling of the court, in the quenis tyme, he wald not spair to reprove most seveirlye whatsoewer he knew to be done amis, eather be the quene in the court or vtherwayis; but now, I say, when that the Hamiltones did ioyne with the quene in the defence of hir, after the murther of hir awin husband, he began to grow cauld in his sermondis, and never spak word of those materis, as gif they never apperteined vnto him; and so from tyme to tyme he thus continewed, till at lenth the young men, regentis of St Leonardis colledge, thinking him to be sumwhat changed, began to admonis him, and desyre him first (as I vnderstand) to pray for the regent my lord of Murray and the rest of his cumpanie, for their prosperous returne out of England. But for all thair admonishing of him, he did nathing, but rather drew vther minesteris with him to dissalow of all thingis done against the quene and kingis coronatione; quhilk opinie they spak not,



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Because they durst not at the first, but as trubles began, so he and they of his factione did more and more vter thamselvis, till at lenth the foirsaid young men of St Leonardis colledge did opinlie complane of the said Mr Robert and vtheris in the generall assemblie of the kirk, and gave in particulare accusationes against them; that they did not pray for the regentis grace foirsaid, nor for the king, and for sindrie thingis spockin be thame; tending to the derogation of the kingis authoritie, with dyvers vtheris thingis, which to recite were too long; and amonges the rest that were accused, Mr William Ramsay (a learned and a gude man, but seduced be the Hamiltonis factione and Mr Jhone Rutherfurde); nixt vnder the said, Mr Jhone provest of St Salvitoris colledge was one, for sum thingis he had spoken for pleasour of the Hamiltones; for they made him beleive that a dochter of the auld chamerlandis of Sanct Androis, callit Hamilton, wald marie him, whom he earnestlie desyred, whairby he was drawin to follow thair factione. Bot Mr William being callit befor the assemblie tuik grit displeasour, and was not a little concerned in his mynd; whairthrow he tuik sicknes, and schortly died. He confessed to some, that for the pleasour of his intyseris he did against his conscience, which movit him to gritter dolour in his hart. Bot alwayis he died of two or thrie dayis seiknes, whilk his disease or

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seikness appeared, the Sondag before his death being in pulpet; and being required be Mr Robert Hamilton before to preich that Sondag efter none, was so caried away as one without memorie, so that he could not observe his mater; and after he come fra the pulpet tuke his bed, and within thrie dayis (as said is) died. A fearfull document of Godis iudgmentis to many now a dayis, wha dois cleane contrarie to thair knawledge and conscience, vpon whom Godis iudgmentis sall stryk in gritter measure, gif God make them not repent. Becaus, I say, the regentis and young men of St Leonardis colledge sumoned Mr William Ramsay to the generall assemblie (as said is), which was the caus that he tuik his seiknes and died, they of the auld colledge, callit St Salvitoris colledge, bure thame ever since sic indignatione, that they sought alwayis to lay the blame of his death vpon thame, whilk this young man did, Mr Homer Blair, in open scholes in his orasione (as said is); and this was the caus of his inveying against the said colledge, for the quhilk orasone Mr Jhone Rutherford, being prouost of the said auld colledge, wrote as we have hard.

But to retorne to thame wha bure privie indignatione in hart vnto Mr Knox for his maner of doctrine, and yit in countenance wald appeir to love him as thair brother, in speciall was the said Mr Robert Ha-

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miltooun, who had sparced abroad, and tauld to sindrie, that Mr Knox was als grit a murtherer as ony Hamiltoun in Scotland, gif all thingis were well tryed, and therefore suld not cry out so fast against murthereris; for (said Mr Robert) he had subscriyved to the death of the quenis husband, me lord Darnley, with my lord of Murray, quhilk suld have bene done in St Jhonstoune, as said is. Thir wordis Mr James Hamiltoun declared to me, beand Mr Knoxis servand; and also said, that the said Mr Robert had dyvers tymes spokken the same vnto him, and to ane called Mr Jhone Carnegie, ane vther regent that tyme, in the said new colledge; quhilk wordis, when I hard, I said, I culd not of my honour conseill the same, but wald avow him to be the speaker thereof to me, and willed him not to goe bak therof. Efter I had declared thir wordis to my maister, he wrote to Mr Robert on this maner, being ewill at eas for the tyme.

‘Thair is nothing so secreit but salbe reviled. Becaus the inhabilitie of my bodie is sic, that I may not doe the thing quhilk vtherwayis I gladlie wold, I wryte vnto you (not without pane) these few wordis, desyring to be resolvet whidder that ye have affirmed (to ane or mea) that ye have sene my subscriptione and consent to the murther of the lord Darnley. Of your awin conscience and knowlege ye your self can best testifie. I crave your ansuir, affirmative or negative. Subscriyvit, Jhone Knox.’ Quhilk I delyverit the

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15 of November, in anno 1571, and requyred his answir ; bot his schifting wordis spokken to me myght have made ony man sufficientlie believe that he had spoken the same. But after long talk he willed me to give this answir : That he nèadit not to have written vnto him, for gif he wald have send the leist boy to his hous he suld cum to him and satisfie him ; whilk wordis I reported agane. Therefter my maister schew the mater to the rector Mr Jhone Douglas, now made bischope, and to Mr Jhone Rutherford, desyring thame to speik Mr Robert to satisfie this sclander, or elis to byde by it, whilk gif he wald not, he wald complane to the kirk. Thairafter come the said Mr Robert and talketh with my maister ; what it was I knaw not, bot when I come in vpon them, my maister willed me schaw him that I tauld him it, which I confessed, and schew wha spak the same to me ; whilk when I had, I said I culd not, neather of honestie nor honour, conceill the same ; adding further, that gif I knew my maister to be sic a man, I wold not serve him for all the geir in St Androis.

Then the tryall of the mater was referred to me RICHARD BANNATYNE, be comand of my maister, whairof I thought Mr Robert had little will, or none at all. After finding fit opportunitie, I confronted the said Mr James and Mr Robert together, which he denyed, but the vther affirmed in his face to be most trew that

he had so spooken, not only to him, but also to Mr Jhone Carnegie, to bring Mr Knox in hatreant and disdane. Mr Robert said he suld caus the vther repent his speaking, and that he suld have him befoir the kirk to make the mendis. Then I said, gif ye be innocent, and have not spooken it, ye will do so ; but gif that be not done, it may easelie be knawin that ye have spooken the same. Bot there was no moir thereof, except that he said he suld caus Mr James repent it ; quhilk he and the rest of the Hamiltonis did what they culd, till at lenth he was compellit to leave the colledge. Vtheris mocked him, calling him Knoxis byrd, with sic vther tantis. God grant them repenting hartes, to acknowledge thair dispyte they have against that poore man, because he had a favour to Mr Knox.

Also Mr Archibald Hamiltoun for a long tyme come not to Jhone Knoxis sermondis, becaus that he affirmet in his teiching that Hamiltones were murtheris ; and a day being appointed to him to give a resson why he come not to the said Mr Knoxis sermond, as he was appointed be the superintendent and be the bischope, Mr Jhone Douglas, I can not tell whidder be the ane or be thame both, that he suld come to my maisteris hous befoir the said bischope of St Androis, the bischope of Caitnes, Mr Jhone Wynrome, Mr James Wilkie, primarius of St Leonardes

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colledge, and Mr Jhone Rutherford, deane of facultie and provest of the auld colledge ; and being convenit, the said Mr Archibald baid styfe, and said that he was grived to see the place (meaning the pulpet) so abused as it was; whairvnto Mr Knox willed them to tak sic order as they wald answir to God ; as one day they suld, gif ordour were not put to his contempt. At what tyme nothing was done; saving that eather of thame maid thair protestationes, in forme and maner as followes.

The 18 of July, 1572. The quhilk day Mr Knox protestit, that no thing being done, nor to be done, in this privie assemblie preiudge the kirk of God within Scotland, at ony tyme heirafter ; and first, I protest that neather the pulpet of St Androis, neather that of ony congregation within the realme, be subiect to the censure of the scholes, universities, or faculties within the same, bot onlie that it be reserved to God the iudge of all, and to the generall assemblie gatherit within the same realme laughfullie. The resson of this my protestatione is, that I luicke for no better regiment in tymes to cum then hes bene in ages passing before vs ; in the whilk it is evident, that vniversities orderis weill establissit, and men raised vp to defend the kirk of God, have opprest it, and the malice of Sathan is alwayis to be feared.

Mr Archibaldis protestatione. The quhilk day

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Mr Archibald Hamiltoun, following the auctoritie and comand of the most venerable lordis, my lord of St Androis, Cairnes, the deane of facultie in theologie, and vther principall lordis in the vniversitie of St Androis, comperit in the inner chalmer of Mr Knoxis, in the new ludgene of the Abbey, who be his awin, and be him being charged for not cuming to his preiching, aggreit halelie to the said Mr Knox first protestatione; protesting lykewayis with him, that nothing in this privie conventiones be done suld be preiudiciall eather to ane trew reformed kirk, eather to the liberties and godlie constitutiones of this our vniversitie. Secondlie, the said Mr Archibald protestis, that neather he, nor any vther faythfull in the vniversitie, be thrallit to ony minister wha exemis him self fra order and godlie discipline, and cheiflie when as the minister sall tak that licence that doctrine to publis in the pulpet, which afoir ordinaire iudges he refused to defend in scholes, to schaw it to be consonant vnto the word of God; and his resone is, that be the contentment of the whole learned and godlie, [it is affirmed, scholes to have bene interteaned from the begynning in all reformed kirkis, to this purpose chiefie, that sanitie of doctrine myght be reteaned, and schismes and hereseis avoydit.

After Mr Knoxis departour furth of St Androis (as said is) he landit at Leyth the 23 of August; and efter certane dayis tareing thair, he come to Edinburgh, to

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the comfort of those that were banised, as he was ; and preichit in the pulpet of Edinburgh on Sondag the last of August ; but becaus his voice was feebled and waik, and therfore culd not be hard of the whole multitude that convened, he desyred thame to provyde for that place, for he confessed that his voice was never able (the best tyme that ewer he was) to extend to all that come together in St Geiles kirk, and mekle less now was it able to satisfie the auditour, seing that he was so waik, and his voice so fare spent. Therfore he desyrit thame that some vther place myght be appointed for him, whare his voce myght be hard, gif it were but vnto ane hundret personis, which efterwardis was done.

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At this tyme was Mr James Lowson send for out of Abirdene to cum to Edinburgh ; and therefore they desyrit Mr Knox to write for him, which he did as followes.

All worldlie strenth, yea ewin in thingis spirituall, decays, and yit sall never the work of God decay. Belovit brother, seing that God of his mercie, far above my expectatione, has callit me ones agane to Edinburgh, and yit that I feill nature so decayed, and daylie to decay, that I luke not for a long continewance of my battell, I wald gladlie anes discharge my conscience into your bosome, and into the bosome of vtheris, in whome I think the feare of God remanes ;



gif I hath had the habilitie of bodie; I suld not have put you to the pane to the whilk I now requyre you, that is anes to visite me, that we may conferre together of heawinlie thingis; for into earth there is no stabilitie, except the kirk of Jesus Christ, ever fight- and vnder the crosse, to whose myghtie protectione I hartlie comitt you. Of Edinburgh the vii of September, 1572.

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Jhone Knox.

Vnder the subscriptione were thir wordis, ‘Haist, leist ye come to lait.’

Efter the receit heirof, the said Mr James come to Edinburgh about the 15 or 16 of September, and preichit in the kirk the Fryday after, whilk was lyked of all the auditour; and the Sonday thereafter, which was the 21 of September, Mr Knox began and preichet in the Tolbuith, whair he contineweth to preich everie Sonday, so lang as God gave him strenth.

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The sext of September, the lord Fleming, who was hurt be the Frenche men which befoir staw out of Leyth, and that be his especialle doingis and meanes, departit this lyfe in Biggar, whither he was careit in ane litter furth of the castle of Edinburgh; which litter not being able to goe furth at the castell yeat, vntill the portcullious were raised and lifted vp hier, which beand rasis vp, fell down to the ground

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agane, and a part of a spelch therof fleing of, hurt Harie Balfour in the heid, wha, efter he had lyne a 10 or 11 dayis, died the xi of September. And so thir tua have gottin thare rewarde ; God gif it be his pleasour that thir his iudgments may be a warning to the rest to bring thame to repentance ; but *consuetudo mali est indelibilis*.

The 12 of September, Mr Killigrave, a gude and godlie protestant come to Edinburgh.

About this tyme come the word of the most shamefull, beastlie, crewell, and most treassonable fact that ever was hard or redd of befor in ony historie ; the death and slaughter of that man of God, the Admiral of France, whois compair or lyke was scars to be found in Europe agane, eather in wisdome, manheid or godlines ; which treassonable and devilis act vnder trust and amitie, was done be the king, as his awin edict and declaratione therof, which followes declairis : and is translated out of French, word by word, as it was in the printed copie which the translater and wryter saw.

The kingis declaratione of the caus and occasione of the death of the Admirall and vtheris, his adherentis, and complices, laitlie hapned in this toun of Paris, the 24 of August, 1572. Prentit in Paris be Jhone Dallier, Librare duelling upon S<sup>t</sup> Michaelis brige,

at the signe of the white rose, be the kingis permissione.

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*Be the king.* His maiestie willing to mak knawin to all lordis, gentlemen, and vtheris, his subiectis, the caus and occasione of the death of the Admirall, and vtheris his adherentis complices, laitlie happened into the toun of Paris, the 24 of August, becaus the said fact may be otherwayis disguysed or wrong reported vnto thame then it is ; his said maiestie declaris, that this that is thus happenit, was done be his expres commandment, and not for ony caus of religione, nor to contravene his edict of pacificatione, quhilkis he alwayis vnderstude, as yet he will, and vnderstandis, observe, keip, and interteane ; bot to avoyde and prevent the executione of ane unhappie and detestable conspiracie, maid be the said Admirall (principall author of the same), and his adherentis and complices, in the persone of the said king and against his estate, the quene his mother, the lordis his brethren, the king of Navere, and princes, and lordis being with thame : whairfore his said maiestie makis it knawin be this present declaratione, and ordinance to all gentlemen and vtheris whatsoever of the pretendit reformed religione, that he will, and vnderstandis, that in all suretie and libertie, they may live and dwell with thair wyfis, childrene, and familieis into thair houses, vnder the protectione of the said king, lyk as

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they have done heirtofore, and according to the benefite of the saidis edictis of pacificatione, comanding and ordeaning most expreslie all governoris and officiaris, and generall lievtenantis, in all his cuntreis, and provinces, and all vther, his iustices aud officiaris to whome it appertenis, not to attempt, permit, nor suffer to be attempted, nor interprysed in ony sort or maner whatsumeyer, against the persones and gudis of thame of the said religione, thair saidis wyfis, childrene, and familieis, under the pane of deid, against the transgressoris and culpables. And notwithstanding to avoyd the trubles, skladeris suspitiones, and mistrust which may happin be the occasiones of the preachingis and assemblies which may be made, alsweill in the houses of the said gentlemen as in vther places, according as it is permitted be the saidis edictis of pacificatione; his said maiestie makis ane expres inhibitione, that they mak no assembleis for ony occasione that may be, vntil that be the said king efter that he hes provydit for the tranquillitie of the realme it be vtherwayis ordeaned, and that vnder the pane of deid, disobedience and confiscatione of thair bodies and gudis. Also it is expresslie defendit vnder the saidis panes, to all thame that be ressonne of the fairsaidis have, or reteane ony presoneris, to tak ony ransom of thame; and that they incontinent give adVERTISEMENT vnto the governoris of provinces, or vnto the

generall lievetenentis, of the names and qualiteis of the said persones, whome his said maiestie ordanes to releive and set at libertie, gif so be they be not of the headis that have had charge for thame of the religione, or that have made ony practises or doingis, or that myght have had ony intelligence of the foirsaid conspiratione: vpon which cases, they sall incontinent advertis his said maiestie, that he may caus them vnderstand his will therin, Ordeaning also, that fra thyne furth, none be so hardie to tak or hald ony persones for the foir saidis, without expres comandement of the said kyng and his officiaris, and that none pas vpon the feildis to ony farmes or stedingis, to tak hors, meiris, oxin, kye, or ony vther bestiall, gudis, cornes, nor ony thing whatsumever, nor inissay the laboureris of the grund, but lat thame in peax exerce thair laboris in all assurance, conforme to vocatione, vnder the panes foirsaid. Made at Paris, the 28 of August, 1572. Subscryvit *Charles*, and vnderneth *Fizes*. 1571  
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Notwithstanding of this declaratione of this tyrantis tressonable mynd and will, all was done but to put his crewell tyranny to further executione, be trapping and disceaving be this meanis, the poore professoris of Christis Evangle, as this advertisment from France sent to England, and fra thyne to Killigrave, in this towne of Edinburgh, evidentlie schawes,

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*Aduertisementis out of France in September.*

*First*, That the kingis declaratione, which he hes set furth, tuiching the mater of the Admirall, is vterlie vaine and fals in everie poynt; for that, contrarie to the said declaratione be the kingis awin comand, the protestantis are conteanewallie murtherit, yea, in so much as captane Jhone, who is appointed be the king to be the comone cuthrote, bringis report everie day to the king how mony he hes dispatched everie nyght, and how mony are broght in daylie to all the presones; whairat the king takis pleasour, and willeth the said cuthrote, who hes comissione to visit all the presoneris to kill thame all.

2. The lait fact is mislyked of all, alsweill papists as vtheris, except such onlie as were authoris of the fact, or elis of the rascallis that sought for the spoile.

3. The Italianis were both the contryveris and inventaris of this murther, and also the executeris.

4. The tyranny is sic, that it hath broght in a general mistrust in all sortes of men; for mony ritche papists were slane in the truble, and mony suitis depending befor the iudges endit be murther; mony privat querallis revenged, and mony debtis acquyted, vnder the cullor of killing Heugoneutis.

5. The Germanis so abhorre the fact, that they are

depart by fifties and 60 in company, some of thame 1572  
at Orleans spoyled and put to ransone. Septem.

6. The counte of Hannow, coming to the Palsgrave, was spoyled at Paris, and kepit close be certane sulderis, and set at 4000 crownes ransone, whilk he accordit to pay, had not the king tackin order vtherways.

7. Tuo gentlemen currioris come out of Germanie to the French court, wha did report that the fact is so abhorred in Germanie, that they called thame be the way as they come *shalme*, which is alsomuch as theif and traytor.

Occurantis advertised to the maior of Rye, and from him to the lordis of counsall the 20 of September, 1572.

*From the maior and iuratis of Rye.*

On Tuysday last of the said moneth, thair arrayved at Rowan, a troupe of horsmen and tuo ensaingyes of fute men, sent be the king (as it was said), to put all the protestantis within the said toun to the sword. Bot they of the toun fearing to be disapointed of the spoyle which they so gridelie gaped after, sufferit thame not to enter, but thame selvis that same day befor nyght schoat all the geatis that none suld escaip; that being done, they set on the protestantis they culd find abroad in the streitis, and without all pitie or mercie murthered not onlie men, but weeman

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and childrene, not sparing, as is said, infantis at thair motheris breistes ; so that the streitis lay full of slane carcasses, pitiouslie murthered, and mangled 40 in one streit, and 50 in ane vther, and towardis one of the portis, whither they fled for succor, 120, the channell rushing downe with streamies of blude of the slane abundentlie ; that being done in the streitis, they violentlie brake into the houses of those that professit the religione whair of befor they were not ignorant, and all that nyght maist miserablie murtherit thame, without respect of aige, sex, or kynred, and efter enterit the prisonis of the towne, which were stuffed full of protestantis, whome befor they had apprehendit, and thair in most crewell wayis murtherit and dispatchit thame all ; which vnnaturall and crewell murther was the more, be ressonne that mony of the said tovn, which were before fled, efter they had intelligence of the former massacre of the nobilitie done at Paris, fearing the sequele were now returned home agane vpon the credite of such assurance, as by open proclamatione by the king with sound of trumpet, was in maist effectuall order of wordis gewin vnto thame.

The reportaris of the premisses having bene elderis of the reformed kirk at Rowan, and remaning at Kylbuffle, not far from Rowan at the tyme of this most wofull murther, after they had intelligence of the executione therof in Rowan, marched towardis Caen,



thair also to doe the lyk ; and as is said, that they <sup>1572</sup>  
wald cum to New Heawin to no better end. <sup>Septem.</sup>

Sir, our newes out of France doe continewe as they began, and mendit as sowre aill in sommer. Whoso-  
ewer cumeth from thame can tell of nothing but mur-  
ther tressonable done. That began, as ye know, on  
Sonday, being Bartilmoo day, at Paris. Straight come  
post after post, on efter ane vther ; so the Tuysday  
nixt efter that bloodie Sonday, they began at Lionis,  
apprehending all the protestantis, imprisoned thame  
inventored thair gudis, and killed thame, sending in  
butcheouris in vnto thame fiftie in one day in one  
place, and ceassd not till they had killed 3000 of  
thame. This we heir from Lionis of thame that wat  
not what to doe in this world.

At Paris murther doeth continew, not onlie by first  
imprisoning thame, and in the night to hing thame  
and drowne thame, or elis knock them on the heidis  
and drowne thame, but sumtymes, ewin still after the  
auld disorderis of Paris, the throat cutteris killis whame  
they list. *O tempora, O mores ! O scelus perfidium, O*  
*Neronem redivivum gallo, cæterum dedecus !*

And yit Sir, on Fryday the quene mother tauld our  
embassador, that manis conscience suld [not] be forced  
onlie, they suld have no exercise of their religione,  
*perpetuum et irrevocabile dictum* : for, (said scho) ye  
may see that be the king of Navarre, the Prince of  
ondie and his vyfe, who be of the religione, and that

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they be sufferit frelie and so sall be ; although the king my sone desyre thame to be catholics. Bot the Sunday after, Madame la Prince de Condie was forced to goe to mass or elis to presone, whair scho was tault scho suld sone be made bloodie ; and the prince her husband had chose to heir mass the nixt Sunday, (for hitherto he had forsaken it), or elis to goe to presone to the bastille, whair he suld not cost the king ony meate. These be thair assurances, and so much they stand to thair wordis and promises in that cuntrie. More, this last weik, on Rowland, a chanone in Notre Dames, and parliament of Paris, a notable papist, becaus he was heard vtering wordis of mislyking of the lawles kynd of proceading, without order of justice was apprehendit, comittit to presone, and as disorderlie murtherit as ony of the vther were in prison. So ewin thair the modest papistes are offendit. The vyser of the nobilitie be effrayed of this terrible example, without proces, without answir, without law or iustice, to kill quhome the prince will. Every vyse man thair luikis for a terrible vengeance of God to fall for such creweltie ; gif it be trew that the earth is accursed that souketh vp the blood of innocentis, as it is indeid, and sall eather Scotland, trust them or we fear thame. Yit feir thame we must as ragine wolfes, and detestable serpentis, without God, without fayth, and without humanitie, sa fair ye weill. From Kiwuith, the 20 of September 1572.

The 22 of September the regentis grace, with certane other of the kingis lordis, came to Leyth, for to mak some appointment with thame of the castell during this present abstinence, which now drawis to an end; and after they had remaned in Leyth a few dayis, the regent and the rest of his cumpanie come to Edinburgh, whair after long talk without ony conclusion, an abstinence was tane the 26 day, to continew for viii dayis, in hope of sum appointment. All which tyme no vther thing was concludit, but ane vther abstinence for 4 dayis, and thereafter, vpon the viii day of October, ane abstinence was proclaimed to indure to the 6 of December nixt; and so the castell, that traytorous hous, gat the most part of their desyres, for they seik nothing but drift of tyme and abstinence to abstinence, as la Crock earnestlie sought to have ane abstinence for 3 monethis. The desyres of the castell were so far wyde, that nothing culd be granted unto thame.

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At this tyme, when the regent and lordis were in this toun, becaus of this great creweltie executed in France, vpon the protestantis, ane lettre was gewin in to the counsall, desyring in effect, that order myght be tane against the crewell and tressonable conspiracies of the papistis, wha as they had begvn in France, wald doe the lyke in all vther places gif they myght, and that consultatione myght be tane how to avoyde thair

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October interpryses ; be meanes of which lettre, this proclamatione was set furth, as followes :

*The copie of a proclamatione set furth be the kingis majestie and his counsall, for the conventione of the professoris of the true religione within this realme, to consult and deliberate upon the imminent dangeris and conspiraceis of the papistis.*

3 JAMES, be the grace of God king of Scottis, to our lovitis, messingeris, and shreffis, in that part conjunctlie and severallie. Forsamekle as be ane supplicatione, it is humble meant to vs, and exponit to our ryght traist cousing Jhone erle of Mar, Lord Erskin, regent to vs, our realme, and leges, and lordis of our privie counsall, be the barronis, gentlemen, and vtheris professoris of Christis Evangle, presentlie convenit in our burgh of Edinburgh ; that in respect of the grit murtheris and moir than beistlie creweltie vused and put in execution in dyvers partis in Europe against the trew Christianis within the same, proceeding na doubt out of that unhappie, devillis, and terrible counsall of Trent, and pretendit not onlie to be executed in forane countreis, whair eather thair power or treassone may availe, but also intendit to be prosecute and followed furth with the lyk greater creweltie (gif it were possible) against the trew Christianis heir in this our realme of Scotland, and ower all whair elis, whair ever Christis

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Evangle is sinceirlye professed, most humblie requyring the present appearing danger to be foirseen and providit for, willinglie offering thame selves and all that they have to the furtherance of the same, whairthrow the wicket interpryse and devyses of the malicious and bloodie papistis, and childrene of the world, (which in thair kynd as moir busie and subtile than the childrene of God), may be with Godis help preventit and resisted. Our said cousing and regent, and lordis of our privie counsall foresaid, considering the equitie and necessitie of the said supplicatione, hes ordeanit thir our letteris to be directed in maner following. Our will is heirfore, and we straitlie charge you and comandis, that incontinent thir our lettres sene ye pas, and in our name and authoritie comand and charge all and sundrie our lieges and subiectis, professoris of Christis Evangle of all the reformed kirkis within this our realme, be open proclamatioun at the mercat croces of the heid burrowes of our said realme, in the paroche kirkis and vtheris places neidfull, that they and everie particulare kirk be thame selfis, send and direct thair commissioneris sufficientlie authorised, ane or mea according to the qualitie of the persones and rowme, to our said burgh of Edinburgh, or whair our said regent salbe for the tyme, the 20 day of October instant, to consult, advise, and deliberate, vpon sic materis and overtouris as may be proponit to our

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said regent and lordis of our privie counsall foirsaid, tending to the preventing, resisting, and mutuall defence of the professoris of Christis Evangle within this our realme, fra the furious rage and lawles crewelteis of the bludie and tressonable papistis, executeris of the decreis of the said devillis and terrible counsall of Trent; and in sic thingis farther as may advance Godis glorie and true religione foresaid; as everie reformed kirk will thairby declair thair earnest and Christiane affectione to the same, in sa present danger and comone perrell. Grantand also be thir presentis, full liberty, licence, protectione, and assurance, to all commissioneris of kirkis whair ever they dwell in ony partes of this realme, howsoever in tyme bygane they have bene to our authoritie, that they may saiflie and frielie hant, resort, and cum to the day and place above appointed, and thair remane during the tyme of conventione to be kepit for this purpose. Whair also they salbe admittit to have frie speich and voit, and to returne at thair pleasour to thair duelling place, without stop, truble, arreist, searche or impediment, to be made to them in bodies or gudis, for the space of xx dayis after the said 20 day of October, including also the tymes of thair travellis grantit to thame. Certefeing all sic as sall requyre particulare licence and assurance for this effect, that vpon thair desyre, the same salbe granted vnto thame. Comanding all our officiaris,

lieges, and subiectis, that none of thame tak vpon hand to violat this present licence, protectione, and assurance, under all hiest pane, charge, and offences, that they and ilk ane of them may comit, and iuryme against our maiestie in that part, as ye will answer to vs thervpon; the quhilk to doe we commit to you our full power, be thir our lettres, delyvering them be you dewlie execute, and indorsat agane to the bearer. Gewin under our signet, at Edinburgh, the 3 day of October, and the sext yeir of our reigne, 1572. 1572  
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With this said proclamacione, which was prentit, was also prentit sum articles of the counsall of Trent; the effect whair of was, that all professoris of Christis Evangle, whame they terme Lutherianis, Hugonotes, and Calvinistis, salbe rooted vp, and that all vther protestantis in Europe salbe vterlie destroyed and sacked, and thair guidis and heretages disponit vpon, at the pleasour of the paipistis, &c. with siclyke godles inventiones; the practeis whair of is now opinlie begun in Paris, as said is.

At this tyme, the ministeris then in Edinburgh did maist vehementlie invey against this most bestlie and more than tressonable fact; whairat the French embassador, callit la Crocke, was not a little discontent, becaus that his master the kyng (or rather the traytor) of France, suld be thus callit a traytor, and a murderer of his awin subiectis, ynder promise and traist;

1572 but especiallie against Jhone Knox, wha had pronuncit  
October in his sermond, and had declarit the same to the embassador to tell his master, that the sentence is pronuncit in Scotland, against that murtherer the king of France ; that Godis vengeance sall never depart from him nor his hous, but that his name sall remane an execratione vnto the posteriteis to cum, and that nane that sall come of his loynes, sall enioye that kingdom in peace and quyetnes, unles repentance prevent Godis iudgmentis.

The said la Crock desyrit of the regent and counsall, that an edict myght be put furth, that none suld speik ony thing to the dishonor of his maister, and chieflie the ministeris in thair sermondis ; and that the quene of England had set forth ane for the same purpose ; which was maist fals. But the lordis answerit, they could not stop the mouthes of the ministeris to speik against them selfis.

6 La Crock departed out of Edinburgh, and Virak also (whome Wormistoun took out of St Androis, as is befor specifeit), discontent that this his desyre was not granted, the 6 of October, and past through England.

To what end this abstinence will cum to, gude men doubtis, because of sic as are suspect and never sufferit ony truble be remaning in Leyth are the principall counsalloris and draweris on therof ; sic as the



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Lord of Montrois, wha was the chief laborer to cause Lord of Murray, then regent, to goe to Dumbarten, making him beleive to get appointment therewith, bot the end declared his death was sought, as after came to pas ; when sic men are vpon counsall, what gud thing can be hopit for. Also Tullibarne was ane vther that was busie in this abstinence, of whome gude and godlie men lukis for na better at his handis, nor of the vther : God, for his Sone Christis saik, preserve the king fra sic as he is ; for he that intendit evill against the first regent (as he did), never man may luke for gude of him.

Befoir the proclamatioun of this last abstinence, Killigra, the Englis ambassador, being in the castell, and speiking with the Captane and the rest, they said vnto him, that it was but onlie tuo or thrie ministeris that rayled against them and called them traytoris, and also that the toun of Edinburgh had compellit sic as willinglie offerit them selvis to repentance for thair remaining in the toun with thame, to cum and doe the same for feare of tinsall of thair friedome, whilk being schawin to the kirk, they were called in befor the superintendent at thair synodal assemblee, thir same personis, whame the Captane and his, alledged was compelled, to sie gif they did it of compulsione or not ; but culd not be at rest till they had offerit them selfis to the kirk. Lykwayis sindrie ytheris that had

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remaned in the toun, the tyme of the truble, to the number of 24 or 30 persones, come altogether at one tyme and gave in thair bill to the kirk, desyring thame to resave thame ; the copie whairof heir followis :

*The forme of bill gevin in to the Sessione be thame that repentit thair remaning in the toun ; the copie whairof was gevin to Mr Killigra.*

Ministeris, elderis, and diacones, humblie meanis and schawis, we your brether sumtyme in Christ, and now alace not worthie to be callit ane of that number, Hendrie Andersone, Symon Jhonstoun baxter, Jhone Hendersoun baxter, &c. ; That whair dvring the most part of thir last troubles rased be the enemeis, not onlie against our maister and salvior Jesus Christ, his true and faythfull ministeris, but als against our soverane, his gud and obedient subiectis, as in cuming in opin and plane battle to sched the blood of thame that sumtymes was our deirrest brethren, to the grit greif of our consciences, alas we confes, and now movit be the spreit of God, and calling to mynd our former defectione and haynous sclander gewin be vs to our darrest brethren ; and willing to satisfy our said soverane for the samyn, and yit during the tyme of our remaning within this burgh, we tak God to witnes we are cleane and innocent of all nyghboris gudis and geir, and willinglie submittis our selfis to the lawes of this realme, for the

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same, notwithstanding ony abstinence taken or to be taken ; and seing our cheif end and purpose at this present tendis onlie to coniunctione agane with Christ, his trew ministeris, faythfull brethren, and reconciliation with our soverane lord, all worldlie excuse and shiftis set apart ; submittis our selfis most humblie to the discipline and gude order of the kirk. Heirfoir we most humblie beseik your godlie wisdomes, in the name of Jesus Christ, whois word sumtyme we have professit with you, and now maid defectione as said is, to resave vs agane as trew penitent brethren, into your societie and cumpany in tyme cuming, and also to be humble and earnest suittaris for vs to the civile magistrat ; and we be thir presentis faythfullie promittis to your godlie wisdomes, never to mak the lyk defectione in time cuming ; yea, gif the same suld tend to the los and tinsall of all our lyves and gudis, gif God of his meir grace and mercie will continew with vs his holie spreit ; and als promises to forebeare all the societie and cumpany of the wickit in all tymes heirefter, and whatsoever iniunctione or comand your godlie wisdomes will impone vpon everie ane of us, for our said defectione, we sall willinglie obey the samin, with all humblenes of heart, and your godlie wisdomes answer ryght humblie we crave.

The persones and ingivaris heirof did all subscryve the same efter that they were demandit and requyred,

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sa mony of thame as onlie culd write, and sic as culd not desyred the notar to doe the same for thame, be tuiching the pen, as vse is.

The copie heirof was gewin to the said Killigrave, whairby he myght easilie persave the wordis of thame of the castle to be maist fals. Bot tráytoris thinkis no schame to lie and invent whatsoever they think to deface eather the trueth or a ryght caus, whilk in so doing they intend to overthrow ; but in the end they salbe snared into the gyrne they lay out for vtheris to their schame. Confusione and schame both heir and hyne.

20

The 20 day of October, quhilk befoir was appointed for the conventione of the protestantis within this realme, being come, thair come to this toun of Edinburgh, none vtheris but the ministeris and few vther commissioneris ; never ane grit man nor lord come, except the laird of Lundie, and some, but few, lairdis of Lowthain, neir by. As for ony lord, thair was none. Whither the caus was of the regentis infirmitie or seikness, or of an vther proclamatioun that was made at the same tyme to goe upon the thieves was the caus, I am vncertane, quhilk both in my iudgment was some impediment, yit the ministeris for the tyme, penned thir headis and articles following, to be gewin to the regent and counsall.

The heidis and articles to be proponed in the name

of the ministeris, barones, and comissioneris of kirkis, to the regentis grace, nobilitie, and counsall.

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The assemblie of the kirk convenit at Edinburgh, the 20 day of October, 1572, according to the proclamatione: first, hes thocht expedient, in sa far as present conventione is institute, to provyde remeid against the tressonable creweltie of the papists, and to resist the same, to mitigate the wrath and indignation of God; whairby they are stirred vp against vs, for our synis, thair salbe ane publict humiliation of thame that fearis God throw out the whole realme, to begin the 23 of November nixttocum, and to end the last day of the same: and to the effect, that they who are notorious offenderis and publict sclandereris of the kirk may be broght to amendment of lyfe, or elis be excludit from the societie of the faythfull; it is thocht expedient, that betuixt and the 23 of November, in all provinces, and parochie kirkis, whair order of discipline is, the superintendentis, comissioneris of countries, ministeris, and elderis, sall call before thame at appointed dayis, the notorious offenderis within thair iurisdictiones, sic as murthereris, fornicatoris, and assisteris to murthereris, adultereris robberis of the patrimony of the kirk, or vther menis possessiones, and siclyk vther criminall persones, in all esteatis, beginning at the ministrie and nobilitie, and so proceading to all vtheris; that wickitnes,

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and sic hynous crymes as offendis the maiestie of God, may be purged furth of this land, and speciallie that it may be knowin, that ministeris, who ought, be gude exemple, alsweill in lyfe as in doctrine, to provoik vtheris to Godlie conversatione, be not exemit. And first it is thoght necessar, that all superintendentis and comissioneris of countreis, tak diligent inquisitione, of the behaviour of all ministeris, exhortaris, and reardaris, and what faill salbe fundin, seveir correctione to follow thervpon, according to the nature of the cryme. And incais ministeris sall appeir to conceal thair awin imperfectiones, that all men may be requyred to declair to the superintendentis and comissioneris the vices that they know to be in thame, and siclyke in the reformatione of the nobilitie consistis the cheif exemple of the whole cuntrie, we crave not onlie ane generall reformatione of the imperfectiones as be in thame, but also that sic vices as in particulare salbe gewin into thame be amendit: sic as that they be reformed in the wrangous vsing of the patrimony of the kirk, applying the same to thair particular vses, to the grit hurt of the ministrie, poore, and scholes; and that the comones may be eased be thame, both in payment of thair teindis and vther dewities, in respect of thair grit povertie; and that they amend thair grit negligence in tymes past in putisment of vices throughout the whole realme: sic as incest, adultererie, blood-

schedding, and sorcerie, &c. ; and that there be notable persones, depute with commission to that effect to execute the same, and that sic as hes receaved comission alreddie be charged to proceid therin ; and that the actis of parliament and counsallis, made against the breakeris of the Sabbath day, may be lykwayis execute. Vnto the whilkis heidis we desyre my lord regentis grace to agrie, and to authorise the same.

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Secondlie, As concerning the papistis that be within this cuntrie, yit remaning, that they, without all exceptione of persones, grit or small, salbe charged alsweill be the counsall, as ministir, to compair at certain dayis as salbe appointed, befoir sic as the counsall sall appoint, to give the confessione of thair fayth according to the actis of parliament ; and sic as hes not recanted to mak publict recantatione, and they that are excommunicat, for that caus to vnderly sic iniunctiones as salbe laid to thair charge ; and gif ony of them failies therin, thair whole gudis and gear to be confiscat, and thame selvis banist off the countrie : and they that are beneficed persones, thair benefice to vaik, and [be] disponit to qualifeit persones, and gif they (being decernit to be banist), be found thereafter in the countrie, it salbe lesome to all the subiectis of this realme to invaid thame, and everie one of thame to the death, as enemeis to God, the king, the kirk, and comone weill of this cuntrie ; and that sic as are con-

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victed may [be] execute with all rigour, and all vtheris that be excomunicat for ony vther cryme or offence, salbe called lykwayis to particulare dyatis, to satisfie the kirk, or elis to incurr the lyk panes as is afore specifeid; and they that receaves and menteinis thame, gif after dew admonitiones they desist not from thair cumpany, salbe halden pertakeris with thame, and be compted in thair rank of papistes, and to be punised in semblable maner.

And further, we desyre, that the act of parliament be put in executione, that none be admitted to publict offices of counsall, session, or vtherwayis, that are knawin to be papists or favoraris of thame.

Also becaus thair is mess said in certane places of this countrie, as in auld Abirdene, Dunkell, Paisley, Eglintoun, that thair be ane speciall day appointed to assemble the professoris of the religione in places nixt adiacent to the boundis, whair the said mess are vsit, for apprehending of the mess sayeris, and also the heareris, to vnderly the law.

Lykwayis in cais this present divisione tak sum agreement and concord, that nane be comprehendit therin, but sic as salbe oblist for the menteanance of the religione against the enemeis therof. Attowre that all persons as have (since the reformatione began) socht for the paipes bulles, or benefices, be haldin as papistes, and punised therfore, conforme to the actis



of parliament ; and that all the professoris of the religione having benefices, and able to preach, may [be] charged to doe thair office, seing it is not ressonable that they tak vp the leving and remane idle. 1572  
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Thridlie, For resisting of papistis of forane cuntreis alsweill within as without, that my lord regentis grace and nobilitie sall tak sic ordor, that ane league and confederacie be made with our nyghtbouris of England, and vther countreis reformed, and professing the true religione, that we and they be ioyned together in mutual amitie, societie, to support everie ane another, whairewer tyme and occasione sall serve, for menteaning of the religione, and resisting the enemeis therof ; lykwayes that ane solempne band and actis may be made be all thame that be professoris of the religione within this realme, to ioyne thame selvis together, and be reddie at all occasiones for resisting the enemeis foirsaid ; and gif ony beis fundin negligent, salbe haldin ane fals brother, and excomunica-tion to proceid against him.

At this tyme the regentis seikness incressed more and more (althoght few or none suspected his death), so that it continewed till the 29 of October, 1572, whairin he departit this lyfe about thrie houris in the morning or therby ; which death was displeasing to mony, be ressone the king had the fewer freindis, and was surelie kepit with him. God grant that they that 29

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now hes him, may as faythfullie luke vnto him as that this his regent did.

Efter his death, me lord of Mortoun, and dyveris vtheris gentlemen, come to Stirveling, whair was appointed ane conventione, to be haldin at Edinburgh, the 15 of November nixt, for tacking ordour for a new regent.

About the tyme of the regentis death, it was constantlie affirmed that the water of Munros, which is in my lord of Marris landis, that a certane space of the said vater, to wit, of the trouche of the water whair it ran was dry, and the deipest of the same was dryest ; and yit nottheles the said water still continewit running (as it was wonte), bayth vnder and above the place whair the dry was.

Also that same tyme at Munros, be a grit vehement wind was drevin into the sea a grit number of scheip, feading vpon the linkis thair and thair about.

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The kingis lordis assemblit thrie or four dayis after the said 15 day which was appointed, whilk conventione the castle labored what they could to stop ; (for they wald never have ony thing done that myght be a brydle and impediment to thair traytarous dealingis, especiallie the advancement of the kingis authoritie, althocht they have it oft in thair mouthis), whilk gif they culd not obtene that it myght be haldin in Stirveling ; for the quhilk purpose, to wit, that this con-

vention might be stayed, Athole wroite to the lord Lyndsay, that sum farther order (as he said), might be tane betuixt the tua parteis, for they labor be all thair craftes to dryve tyme. The lordis being conuenit, consultatione was tane whairat to begin; whether first to chose a regent, or prouyde securitie for the kingis persone, quhilk was thocht of mony men to be best; bot becaus that culd not be weill done (as vtheris affirmed) they began at the chosing of the regent: and so my lord of Mortoun was elected the 24 day of November, 1572, whilk day Jhone Knox departed this lyfe, of whois godlie end we sall heir heirefter.

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At this assemblie ane parliament was appointed to be haldin in Edinburgh, the 15 of Januar nixt, for confirmatione of the regent, and farther order of the comone wealth.

At this tyme was a new abstinence (quhilk ran out the 6 of December) to the first of Januar, as the discours of the abstinence set out in printe will schaw.

Sonday the nynt of November was Mr James Law-  
soun inaugurat in the pulpet of Edinburgh be Jhone Knox, efter that he had come fra the Tolbuith, where he preached; and at that tyme declared to the whole assemblie (as his waik voce wald serve, quhilk was hard but of a fewe) the dewitie of ane minister, and also thair dewitie to him likwayis; and so made the

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Novem. marriage (in a maner) betuixt Mr James Lawsoun, then made minister, and the folke, and so prayed God, that had gewin thame one in the place of him self, that was now vnable to teich, and desyred God to augment his graces in him a thousand fauld above that that he had, gif it were his pleasour; and so with the comone blessing endit.

13 The Tuysday after this the said Mr Knox was stricken with a grit host, whairwith he being so feabled caused him vpon the 13 day leive his ordinarie reading of the Byble; for ilk day he red a certane chapteris, both the auld Testament and new, with certane psalmes, quhilk psalmes he passed through everie moneth once. Also this same 13 day he desyred his wyfe to pay his servantis feis, saying, he wald never gif them another fie; quhilk on the morne he said to his servant, Jamie Campbell, in giving him his fie, thou will never get no more of me in this lyfe, and sua gave him xx sh above his wages.

Vpon the Thurisday after, Mr Knox tuik his seiknes, which pat end to his lang travelis, quhilk he maist earnestlie cravit of God. William Maitland, sumtymes secretare, send doun this letter out of the castle to the session of Edinburgh, compleaning vpon the said Mr Knox as followes.

It is cum to our eares be credible report, that your minister, Jhone Knox, alsweill publict in his sermondis

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as vtherwayis, he sclanderit me as ane atheist, and enemie to all religione, in direct speiches, that I have planelie spokken in the castell that thair is neather heawin nor hell, and that they are thingis devysed to fray barnes, with vther sic language, tending to the lyk effect, vnworthie of Christian earis, to be rehersit in the hearing of men; which wordis, befoir God, never at ony tyme proceadit from my mouth," nor yit ony vther sounding to the lyk purpose, nor whairof ony sic sentence myght be gathered; for (praysed be God) I have bene brought vp from my youth and instructed in the feare of God, and to knowe that he has appointed heawin for the habitatione of his elect, and also hell for the everlasting duelling place of the reprobat. Seing he hes thus vngentlie vsed me, and neglected his dewitie vocatione, the reule of Christian charitie, and all gud ordour maliciouslie and vntrewlie lieth on me, I crave redres therof at your handis, and that ye will tak sic order therwith that he may be compellit to comunicate his authoris, and prove his alledgence, to the end that gif it be found trew (as I am weill assured he sall not be able to verifie it in ony sort) I may worthelie be repute the man he paintis me; and gif (whairof I have no doubt) the contrare fall out, ye may vse him accordinglie; at leist that heirefter ye receave not everie word proceeding from his mouth as oracles, and know that he

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is a man subiect to vanitie, and that mony tymes does vter his awin passionnes and vther menis inordinat affectiones in place of trew doctrine. It is convenient that, according to the Scriptoris, ye beleive not everie spreit, but try the spreitis, whither they are of God or not. Subscryvit,

William Maitland.

20 Vnto this letter the kirk and sessione of Edinburgh made this answer, on Thurisday the 20 of November, be him that brocht the letter, as followes : Anent the complante gewin in this day, 8 dayis befor the session of this burgh of Edinburgh, be Jhone Robartson, in name of William Maitland, and subscryvit with his hand as he affirms ; and anent the answir desyrit be the said Jhone thervpon, it being deferred to this day, and the session of the kirk therewith ryplie advysit ; for answir, findis it gude that the compleanor authorise the presenter of the applicatioun with sufficient mandat, and that he dedeigne him self, gif he seikis ony benefite of the said kirk of the burgh foirsaid, to direct his supplicatione to the ministeris, elderis, and deaconis now present, admittand them as iudges in that caus, as vse is.

Two or thrie dayis after the ingiving of the said letter it was red to Mr Knox, wha be ressonne of his infirmitie and seiknes could not answir the same, which

glaidlie he wald have done, gif God had gewin him habilitie and langer dayis.

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The Fryday, which was the 14 day, he rose above his accustomed dyet, and yit when he did ryse he culd scars sit in a stoole; and then being demandit what he wald doe vp, said he wald goe to the kirk and preich, for he thought it had bene Sondag; and said that he had bene all nyght meditating vpon the resurrectione of Christ, which he suld have preiched after the death of Christ, whilk he had finishit in his last sermonde the Sondag befoir; for oft and mony tymes he wishit and desyred of God that he myght end his dayis in the teiching and meditation of that doctrine, quhilk he did. The Setterday Jhone Durie and Archibald Stewart come in about 12 houris, not knowing how seik he was; and for thair caus come to the table, which was the last tyme that ever he satt at ony thereafter, for he caused perce ane hogged of wyne which was in the seller, and willed the said Archibald send for the same so long as it lasted, for he wald never tarie until it were drunken.

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Sondag, the 16 day, he kepit his bed, and wald tak no meit (thinking it had bene the first Sondag of the fast) quhilk the lard of Braid schaw him the contrarie, wha sat in the chalmer and dyned befoir his bedsyde, and caused him tak a little.

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Befoir, he earnestlie desyred the kirk (I meane the

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elderis and deaconis) that he myght bid thame his last gude nyght, as he had befor in the pulpet at the inauguratione of Mr James Lowson, saying, that he wald never enter, that place agane.

17

Vpon Monunday, the 17 day, the kirk come according to his desyre, vnto whome he protested that he had taught nothing but true and sound doctrine, beattng dovne, be the threatnings of Godis iudgments, the proude and stubborne, and reasing vp and comforting the trubled consciences be the promisses of Godis merceis; and that howsoewer that he had bene against ony man, it was never for heatreat of the persone, but onlie to beat down in them thair vice, and that quhilk was in thame that rebelled against God, whilk he wald not leive vnpunisit, and for discharge of his conscience befor God, and that he made not merchandise of the word, whois message he bure, to whome he most mak accompt for the same. In respect whairof (albeit he was waik and ane vnworthie creature, and a fearfull man) he feared not the faces of men; and therefore exhorted them to stand constant into that doctrine quhilk they had hard of his mouth (how vnworthie that ever he was), and willed thame never to ioyne with wickitnes, and speciallie with the castle of Edinburgh, it remaning in the steat that it is, whome God wald destroy both in body and saule and they repent not. And albeit they suld not triumph



in this world and truble as they had done, yit prayed he thame never to have doingis with that factione, but rather chuse with David to flie to the mountanes, then to remane in the cumpany of the wicked. And that severitie that he vsed against the larde of Grange, with whome he hes bene sa familiare, was onlie to bring himself to acknowledge himself and his shamefull declyning, that therby he myght turn to repentance, whair of he doubted; and for this purpose he willed Mr David Lyndsay, being then present, and Mr James Lowson, to signifie to the larde that Jhone Knox remanis the same man now going to die that ever he hes hard him befor, when he was able of bodie, and that they suld will him to consider what anes he was, and the steat whairin now he standis, quhilk is pairt of his truble, and yit gif he repented not, the threatenings be him promised suld fall vpon him and that house.

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As for answir to the secretaris bill, he desyred men to consider thair workis, and specialie the rewingis of Edinburgh attoure the trubling of this quyet comone wealth and the kirk of God within the same, quhilkis were a sufficient declaratione to him and the whole world that he denyed there were ony God to punis sic wickitnes, or yit ony heawin or hell, whairin virtue salbe rewardet or vice punished; the workeris whair of God wald destroy and punis, as myght be sene in the

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9 psalme, which gif they did beleive they wald never have comitted sic vngodlie and vnnatural wickitness. And for answir to that that he said, he was brought vp and instructed in the feir of God, &c. ; it was not the educatione that made a trew Christiane, neather yit that brought the feare and knowledge of God to ony man, but onlie the illuminatione of the heart to the spirit of God ; for who was better brought vp than Julianus the apostate, and sindrie vtheris.

As to the nominatione of the reportaris of the bill requyred be refusit, although he culd weill enough have done it.

Whair the bill said, that Jhone Knox was a man subiect to vanitie, and all is not oracles that comes out of his mouth ; whairto the said Mr Knox answiris, that he confessit he was but a most vyle creature and a wretched man ; nottheles the thingis that he hes spooken suld be found als trew as the oracles that have bene spooken be ony of the servandis of God befoir ; for he had said nothing but that whairof he was assured to be the word of God, (to wit) that the iustice of God sall never be satisfied against the scheduleris of innocent blood, vntill the blude of the scheduler be sched agane be order of iustice to satisfie the same, or elis that God vtherwayis move his heart vnto repentance, and that God wald destroy the wicked and cast thame into hell, as may be sene in the 9 psalme,

quhilk he caused them reid, for he hes bene the chief author' of all the truble done both in England and Scotland; and so with exhortatione vnto thame all, he comendeth thame to God, who after the prayer red for the seik (as it is in the Psalme buicke), they departit with tearis. Efter this speiking he was the wors, and tuke a gritter and mair vehement working, for he never spak almost but with grit payne; and yit verie few come in (that he saw) to whome he gave not sum admonitione or exhortatione.

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Befoir his seiknes, he gave comand to his wyfe and his servant Richart, that when God suld send him seiknes, that he was not able to reid himself, that then one of thame suld reid vnto him ilk day the 17 chapter of Jhones Gospell, a chapter of the Epistle to the Ephesianis, and the 53 of Esaii, whilk was done; so that few houris or none of the day did pas ower, whairin sumwhat was not red, besydes, according as he wald appoint, and oftymes sum sermondis of Calvine in French, and of the Psalmes; and sindrie tymes when as we wald be reiding of the forsaidis sermondies (which were vpon the Ephesianis) thinking him to be a sleip, we wald ask gif that he hard, whairto he wald answir, I heir (I prais God) and vnderstandis far better, whilk worde he spak the last tyme about foure houris befoir his last breath.

The lord Boyd come in vnto him and said, I knaw,

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Novem. sir, that I have offendit you in mony thingis, and am now cum to crave your pardon ; but what farder was between thame I knaw not, for they were allone.

19 The lord of Mortoun, Boyde, and the lard of Drumlanrige, come in the Weddinsday, the 19 day. What purpose was amonges them, none but them selfis knew.

The nixt day the lord Lyndsay, bischop of Caitnes, and sindrie vtheris gentlemen, come in, whome he exhorted to continew in the truth that they had heard, for vther word of saluatione thair is none ; and earnestlie besought them (as he did to everie one that he spak vnto) to have nothing to doe with that dampnable hous of the castell of Edinburgh ; I mean not (sayis he) be the stanes, &c. but be thois that are within that hous, whome God sall confound, bayth in this lyfe and eternallie in bodie and saule, gif they repent not, whilk appearis not, and mak thair names to remane in execratione to the posteritie to cum.

My lordis Ruthwen, Glencarne, and dyvers vtheris, at sindrie tymes, did visit him, but me lord Ruthuen (wha come but ones) said, gif thair be ony thing, sir, that I am able to doe for you, I pray you charge me ; who answerit, I cair not for all the pleasour and friendship of the world.

A gentle woman, and ane that fearis God, desyring him to praise God for that that he had bene, and sa

began as it were to praise him, he said, ‘tovng, tovng,  
 ‘ladie, flesch of itself is ower proude, and neidis no  
 ‘meanis to esteame the self;’ and thair also protested,  
 as oftymes he did bayth befor and efter, that he did  
 onlie cleame the frie mercie of God, schawed into  
 mankind in the blude of his deare son Jesus Christ,  
 whom onlie I embraced for his perfectione, iustice,  
 ryghteousnes, &c. ; and willed her never to puff vp  
 flesch, which of itself was to prone and reddie to doe  
 the same without ony vther provocation ; and so ex-  
 horted hir vnto humilitie, and to cast away pryde; and  
 desyred her to remember the wordis of a woman,  
 spocken to hir long ago, saying, ‘ladie, ladie, the black  
 ‘one hes never yit trampit vpon your fute;’ and so with  
 exhortatione in the feare of God, and into that doc-  
 trine which they have hard of him, he baid thame fair  
 weill.

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At this tyme also, thir being departit, he sayis to  
 the lard of Braid, ‘ilk ane biddis me gude nyght, but  
 when will ye doe it ; I have [bene] greatlie behaudin  
 and indebted vnto you, quhilk I can never be able to  
 recompence you, but I comit you to one who is able  
 to doe it, that is, to the eternal God.’

Vpon Fryday, the 21 day, he comandit Richart to  
 gar mak his kist, whairin he was borne to his buriall.

21

Sonday, the 23 day (which was the first Sonday of  
 the fast) at afternoone, all being at the kirk except

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thame that vated vpon him, after that he had lyne a gude space verie quyet, as we thought, he sayis, gif ony be present, lat thame cum and see the work of God (for then he thought he should have departed, as we iudged); at what tyme I send for Jhone Jhonstoun, he burstis foorth in thir wordis, I have bene in meditatione thir tuo last nyghtis of the trubled kirk of God, the spous of Jesus Christ, despysed of the warld, but pretious in his syght, I have called to God for it, and have committit it to hir head Jesus Christ; I have bene fightand against Sathan, who is ever reddie to assault; yea, I have fochten against spiritual wickitnes in heawinlie thingis, and have prevaled; I have bene in heawin and have possession, and I have taisted of the hewinlie ioys, whair presentlie I am; and thereafter said the Lordis prayer and the beleif, with some paraphrases vpon everie petitione and article of thame; and in saying our Father which art in heawin, he sayis, who can pronounce so holie wordis.

Efter the sermond, mony come in to sie him, and sum seing him draw his breath sa schortlie, askit gif he had ony pane, whilk when he understude, answerit and said, I have no more pane then he that is now in heawin, and am content, gif God so pleis, to lye heir for sewin years. Therefore he said oft and sindrie tymes, live in Christ, and lat never flesch feare death;

his meaning was, that gif we live in Christ, no man sall feare death.

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When he would be lying, as we supposed, in a sleip, then was he at his meditatione, as his manifold sentences may weill declair, as this that I have befoir said, whairin he wald often burst foorth, lyve in Christ, and Lord grant vs the ryght and parfyte hetread of syn, as weill be the document of thy mercies as of thy iudgment; Lord grant trew pastoris to thy kirk, that puritie of doctrine may be reteaned, and restore agane to this comone wealth with godlie rewlaris and magistrates. Anes, Lord, mak ane end of truble; Lord, I comend my spreit, saull and bodie, and all into thy handis, with innewmerable sic lyke sentences.

Monunday, which was the 24 of November, he departed this lyfe to his eternall rest. He rose about 9 or ten houris, and wald not lye (and yit he was not able to stand alone), and pat on his hois and doublet, and sat on a chair the space of half ane houre, and thereafter went to bed, whair he wrought in drawing of his end; and being asked of the gud man of Kyngincleuch gif he had ony pane, said, it is no pane-full pane, but sic a pane as, I trust, sall put end to the battell; he sayis also to the said Robert, I man leive the cair of my wyfe and bairnes vnto you, vnto whome ye man be a husband in my rowme.

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A litle at afternone he caused his wyfe reid the 15 chapter of the first Epistle to the Corinthians, of the resurrectione, to whome he said, is not that a comfortable chapter. A litle efter he sayes, now, for the last, I comend my saul, spreit and bodie (pointing vpon his thrie fingeris), vnto thy hand, O Lord; therefter about fyve houris he sayis to his wyfe, goe reid whair I caist my first ancre; and so scho red the 17 of Jhones Evangle, whilk being endit, was red sum of Calvinis sermondis upon the Ephesianis; we thinking he was a sleip, demandit gif he heard, answirit, I heir, and vnderstandis far better, I prais God.

A nyght befoir, Doctor Prestoun, about ix houris at ewin, demandit how he did, said, I have bene tempted be Sathan, and when he saw that he culd not prevaile, he tempted me to have trusted into my self, or to have reiosed or bosted of my self, but I repulsed him with this sentence, *quid habes, quod non accepisti*.

Efter all, about sewin houris at ewen, we left reading, thinking he had been asleep, so he lay still while after ten houris, except that sumtymes he wald bid weit his mouth with a little waik aile: and half ane houre after ten or therby, we went to our ordinary prayer, (quhilk was the longer or we went to thame, becaus we thought he had bene sleipand), and quhilk being endit, Doctour Prestoun sayis to him, Sir, hard ye the prayeris, answerit, I wald to God that ye and all men



hard them as I have hard thame, and I praise God of that heavenlie sound. Efter the said Doctor was risen vp, Robert Campbell sitis doyne befoir him on a stule, and suddenlie thereafter he sayes, Now it is cum, for he had gewin ane lang sicke and sobe; then Richart sitting doyne befoir him said, Now, Sir, the tyme that ye have long callit to God for, to wit, ane end of your battle, is cum; and seing all naturall power now failes, remember vpon thae comfortable promises which often tymes ye have schawin to us of our salviour Jesus Christ, and that we may vnderstand and know that ye heir vs, mak vs some signe; and so he lifted up his head and incontinent thereafter randerit up the spreit, and sleipit away without ony pane the day afoir said, about allevin houris at ewin, quhilk day my lord of Mortoun was elected regent, as said is. 1572  
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On this maner departed this man of God, the lycht of Scotland, the comfort of the kirk within the same, the mirror of godliness, and patrone and exemple to all trew ministeris, in puritie of lyfe, soundnes in doctrine, and in bauldness in reproving of wickitnes; and one that cared not the favor of men, (how great soever they were), to reprove thair abuses and synis.

In him was sic a myghtie spreit of iudgment and wisdome, that the truble never come to the kirk sen his entering in publict preiching but he foir saw the

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end therof, so that he had ever reddie a trew counsall and a faythfull to teich men that wald be taught to tak the best and leive the worst ; so that he that followed his counsall, in the end had ever occasion never to repent him ; and contrarie, sic as have rejected the same have cassin thame selfis in maist schamefull wickitnes, and have cum in a part, and daylie mair and mair are lyk to cum and fall to a most miserable ruyn, both of soul and bodie, quhilk vndoutedlie sall cum vpon them gif repentance prevent not Godis iudgmentis, as may be weill verefeit this day in the Hamiltonis, the lard of Grange, and William Maitland, whois end behauld when it comis.

But heir sum may object, as mony have said, that my Lord of Murray of gud memorie had not deid sic a death gif he had not followed his counsall ; whairto it is answerit, that gud counsall is not the wors, albeit wickit men persecute thame that follow it ; for so have all the godlie bene persecuted from the beginning, for following the trueth and the gud counsall of God and his servants. And as to the regentis slaughter, gif his counsall had bene followed when the Mr of Grahame come and drew him to Dumbartane, he planelie said to the regent then, that it was onlie done for a trane be that meanis to cut him off, as it come to pas ; also when he was in Stirveling, being returned from Dumbartane, he sent me to my ladię the regentis

wyfe, tuo sundrie tymes, and desyrit her to signifie my lōrd her husband, that he suld not cum to Lynlythgow. So that gif his counsall had bene followed, he had not died at that tyme. And my ladie the last tyme sent Mr Jhone Wood, to desyre him to avoid Lynlythgow. Bot God thought vs not worthie of sic a rewlare above vs, and also he wald therby have the wickitnes of vtheris knawin, whilk then was hid ; and therefore did God then tak him fra us. But lat the Hamiltonis, the lard of Grange, with the rest of that factione, lay thair compt and recken thair advantage and wining since.

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What dexteritie in teiching, bauldnes in reproving, and heattreant of wickitnes was in him, my ignorant dulnes is not able to declair ; whilk gif I suld preis to set out, were as who wald lycht a candle to lat men sie the sone, seing all his vertewis are better knawin and not hid to the warld a thousand fald better than I am able to sxpres.

Vpon the Weddinsday efter he was bureid, being convoyed with the regent and the lordis that were in toun for the tyme, with mony a sorrowful hart.

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*A breif declaratione how materis have proceidit during the last abstinence, and how in the default of the rebellis, with halderis of the castell of Edinburgh, the weir is renewit the 1 of Januar 1573.*

Forsamekle as efter the long civile distractione and unnaturall weir continewed within and about this toun of Edinburgh, be the ressoun and occasione of the tressonable surprysing and fortification therof, (abstinence and assurance then standing), throw the defectione of him to whome the custodie of the castle of Edinburgh to our soverane lordis behove was comitted, at last ane abstinence and cessatione from hostilitie was agreit vnto, begynand at the penult of Julij last past, to indure for the space of tuo monethis thereafter, within whilk tyme it was accordit, that the nobilitie and esteatis of the realme suld be assemblit, to advise be thair meanis to establis a gude and general peace. And that so halie a work suld not be retardit, that during the trewis and abstinence, tua thrie, fowre, or fyve men, or fewar, of eather partie myght communicat together in all suretie, to oppin vp the the meanis for the mair facile atteaning to a gude peace, and that the same abstinence or pacificatione that suld follow therupon, on na wayis suld tuich the king our soverane lord or his estat to the preiudice therof. Yit during the tua monethis, not onlie was the assembleie of the

nobilitie, for the part of the adversaries neglected, and  
owerpast, and his hienes lait regent the erle of Mar 1572.  
of gude memorie, at his cuming to Edinburgh (as Novem.  
place agreit vpon for that purpose), frustrat and disap-  
pointted; bot als his majesties coinyie was daylie  
counterfute and adulterat within the castell of Edin-  
burgh, and gewin out as lawfull money amonge his  
hienes ledge people, a mater expreslie tending to the  
violacione of the abstinence, in so far as the counter-  
feiting of his majesties money, directlie tuiched his  
hienes and his esteate to the preiudice therof, and was  
also a deid against honestie and the lawes of all na-  
tiones; and albeit therby iust occasione was then gevin  
to have revendged that disdane, and that iniurie,  
notwithstanding sic earnest and true gude will was in  
the regent, and in the nobilitie professing the kingis  
obedience, towardis a pacificatione for the vniversall  
comoditie of the realme, (the quenis of England em-  
bassador earnestlie therwithall travelling), that a pro-  
rogatione of the former abstinence was grantit for the  
space of vther tuo monethis, beginand the 8 day of  
October, to indure till the 6 day of December last;  
and wrytingis were subscrivit, and interchanged ther-  
vpon, in whilkis, nominatione was made of certane  
persones for tryall, and according vpon the redres of  
attemptatis on eather side comittit, sen the former ab-  
stinence, and that suld happin to be comitted and com-

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plenit vpon during the said prorogatione; as als for certane noblemen of eather partie suld convene, the said last day of October in peiciable maner, to proceid in sic maner and forme, as betuixt the parties conveanit suld be agreit vpon. And forder it was speciallie accordit and promisit be them of the castell, that all melting, forgene, printing or laboring of conyie within or without the same, be ony of thair partie, of thair comand and allowance, suld vterlie ceis, and be left off while the said 6 day of December.

Bot as the last heid was manifestlie contravenit, so was nothing in effect of the vther poyntis observit, onlie some (as directit from thame) come to St Jhons-toun after the appointed day; howbeit, neather of the number of the nobilitie, nor yit sic as seamed to have sufficient comissione, or instructiones deaplie and substantiouslie to deale in the matteris that were to be intreated: sua as the secund tua monethis lykwayis overpast without ony intentione of peace appearing in thame of the castle, specialie in that wrang and iniurie, quhilk thame selfis had done, and quhilk consisted in thair awin power to amend: as was for forgene, prenting, and outputting of the said adulterat and corrupt money; they thame selvis having promeist of thair honoris, and be thair solempne oathis, that the same sould vterlie cease, and be left off as said is; and albeit, therby it myght be weill persavit that

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no sinceir meaning of peace was in thame, yit at the motion of the quenis maiestie of Englandis embassadore, our soverane lordis first regent was content as befoir, that the abstinence suld be further prorogate vnto the first day of Januar instant, vpon some hope that yit they within the said castle suld have come in the mean tyme to some ressonable and tollerable conditiones; bot that tyme in effect, also owerpassing without demonstratione of ony sic gude will or intentione of peace to rest in thame, about the end of the last prorogatione, the embassador according to the comandment and direction of the quene his soverane, willing to doe all gud offices that myght induce to pacificatione, he having conferred with thame of the castle, laitlie moved the said lord regent for a farther prorogatione of the abstinence, to which motion he was not difficile or contrarious. But efter sum speiches past at dyvers tymes betuixt him and the embassadore tuiching that purpose, agreit vnto the prorogatione, vpon conditione that the mater suld be put to sic point as thair myght be sum liklieheid of a peace to followe; and for the furtherance of the same, was desyrus that the embassadore suld knaw of thame in the castle for whome they delt, and vpon what warrand that they would nominate certane personages of authoritie, credit, and iudgment, for thair partie, to meit with vtheris of the lyk qualitie, for

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treating and according vpon the materis in controversie, as also to try and cognosce the violaciones of the former abstinence ; and in cais of thair discord, that the differences myght be submitted to the decision of sum indifferent od personage, and suretie maid for performance of that, that suld be determinat. That the prenting ironis myght be put in the embassadoris handis as indifferent, and the comyssioneris removed furth of the castell vpon suretie to be harmless, that the prisoneris myght be set at libertie, speciallie the maister of Forbes vpon band, not of sic as the erle of Huntlie hes heirtofoir nominat, seing sum of thame culd not be persuadit to be oblist, vpon feir conceaved, gif they had so done, to be thairfoir wrackit and undone, but that a band vnder the pane of ten thousand pundis myght be resavit of vtheris sufficient and responsible noble men, or barrones that suld be worth a hundret thousand pundis. That they of the castle suld content thame selvis with sic daylie and ordinarie provisione, as convenientlie and ressonable myght sustane thame and thair number during the abstinence, and forbeir to tak in ony sic grit quantitie of victualis, stuff, and vther furnitor, as myght confirme the suspitione conteaned of thair intencion to continew the weir, and provyde the castell for a yeir or tua, with assurance of the regentis mynd to condescend to the abstinence on thir conditiones. The embassador past



to the castell on Weddinsday the last day of Decem-  
ber ; and having maid declaratiōe of the same, they 1573  
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in the castle taking advantage of the last heid, tuiching  
the provisiōe and victualing of the hous, answered,  
that they suld not be content in that point to be con-  
trolled, and except the same were first past without  
conditiōe, they wald mak no answer, nor enter in  
further ressoning vpon the remanent heidis. Nawayis  
willing in the said provisiōe, and furnising to admit  
ony kind of restraint or limitatiōe. It was said be  
thame of the castell, in privat speich to the embassador,  
that he of whome they suld lyk of, to be the od per-  
sonage was the king of France. Thus vngeving res-  
sone or answir to the remanent heidis, but taking ad-  
vantage of the last point (as is befoir said), they have  
declaired thair obstinat presumption above the boundis  
of ressone and measour, as vnwilling of ony gude and  
tolerable peace : bot rather desyrous that the realme  
sall continew in civile weir and dissentione, quhilk be  
thair only occasiōe is renewed, and of the quhilk  
they may be iustlie compted the verie authoris, seing  
nathing eather vnressonable or impossible was of  
thame demandit ; for the conditiones onlie tendit to  
certane dealing, and furtherance of the pacificatiōe  
and quyetnes : as no doubt, all honest and indifferent  
men will iudge, and consider thame withal, whidder  
the duck, and the erle of Huntlie, with vtheris heir-

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tofoir of thair partie, wald allow of the dealing of thame in the castell, quhilkis be thair awin deid specialle in making and outputting of the said corrupt and adulterat money, had not onlie controversit thair awin obligatione, but had hasardit the fayth and promise of the noblemen of that partie, for whome they of the castle durst not vndertack directlie to promise, bot vncertanelie spak they wald doe what they culd, in thingis quhilkis were to be performed be the noble men of thair pairtie. Indeid ressonne and gude order cravit (the conditione of thame in the castell considerit), that they had moderat thame selfis with sic meassoure and appointment as the noblemen of thair pairtie could have bene content to enter in, rather than the noblemen to be subiect to follow the fortune of thame in the castell, to whome na mediatione is tolerable, nor ony advyse beside thair awin thocht worthie; but thair conclusionis, as may weill appeir, to mak thair advantage of the trouble, and to continew the weir be thame selves and strangeris that they have procured, althocht they suld be destitute of all vther factione, or fellowship in Scottisland, without feare of God, or yeale that his glorie and trew religione (whairof them selvis schaw them sumtymes professoris) suld remane amongis vs. Against thair fayth and alledgeance, sworne and promiseit to the kingis maiestie, our soverane lord (in erectione and consti-

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tution of whois authoritie thame selvis were cheif instruments), and without compassione of the present calamitie of this thair native countrie, whilk be thair occasione is thus plagued and vnquietit. It may also cleirly appeir, that without submission of the differences to sum indifferent od personages, in case of discord, thair was no intentione of peace in thame of the castle ; bot evident preiudice and disadvantage to the king his regent, nobilitie, and gud subiectis, whilkis be delay and incertantie, behovit still to be unburdenit with the sumteous charges of susteaning men of weir, as heirtofore they have bene, sen the first abstinence was accordit vnto, without liklieheid of the end of the weir ; whair vtherwayis gif the differences had bene thus remitted to the decisione and iudgment of sum ane indifferent od personage, and suretie maid for the performance of the determinatione, it had bene in effect a present peace to the grittest part of the realme, and sic charges of men of weir had not neidit ; seing all men wald have luketh to the end of the decisioun, whairin the king of France can not in resson be thocht meittest to be iudge, in respect of his far distance and misknowledge of the circumstance of the Scottis controverseis, which requyris spedie and sumare decision. It is also certane, that the principalis of both parteis, contendand, avowes the professione of the trew religione ; and therfore suld rather be iudged in the cause of thair controversie be sum personage pro-

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fessand the same trew religione. And as to the last point, tuiching the provisione of victualling of the castle, vnder pretext whairof they of the castle hes reiected the remanent, it may appeir gif ressonne culd have satisfeit thame, thair was occasione in that heid to let the weir breck vp, seing alreddie in fyve monethis space they have bene permittit sufficientlie to victuall thame selvis. It was not meant nor spocken, that they suld be drawin to spend ony part of thair lyand provisione during the abstinence ; but without impediment to tak in sic quantitie of all kynd of victuallis, as from day to day, or ouklye, myght sufficientlie susteane the number they interteanit. Indeid it seameth no wayis to tend to peace, but heichlie to the disadvantage of the king, during a short abstinence without certaintie of peace to follow, they suld be permitted to tak in ony grit quantitie of new provisiones, of wyne, pulder, bullat, and munitiones, or to have forrane intelligence, be which the myght the mair facillie drawe in strangeris, to the destructione of religione, the king, and all the whole comone weill, as thair continewall travelis heirtfoir hes tendit vnto. And therefore seing, be thair obstinacie, all honest and equitable conditiones are reiected, and the weir renewed, my lord regentis grace, with advice of the lordis of secreit counsall, hes thocht gude to give publict declaratione therof, that none vpon ignorance iudge vtherwayis of the caus of the renewing of the truble

nor the truth is : bot that being certifeid of the veritie, they may the rather be inducit to assiat with counsall and force, in resisting and repressing of the treasonable rebellione and vnnaturall creweltie vused and intendit be thame within the said castell of Edinburgh ; sua as the realme being relevit of the present mischeif and inconveniences continewand be thair occasione, iustice and policie may proceid, to the honour of God, our soverane lordis obedience, and comone weill of the whole réalme. Imprinted at Edinburgh be Thomas Bassandyne, dyelling at the neather bow, 1572 [1573]. *Cum privilegio regis.* 1573 January

The abstinence being rune out the first of Januar, at 6 horis in the morning, at what tyme ane vairning peice was schoȝ out of the castle, to warne all men to luke to thame selvis ; and therafter began the tranches to be cassin about the castle whair neid was, and the suldertis plantit for to keip thame, that none suld eather ischew furth or cum in vnto thame.

The parliament appointed the xv of Januar held, whairat thair were mony grit men, and sindrie actis made, as we sall schortlie heir. The comissioneris fra the Hamiltones and Huntlie come in at this tyme ; for albeit the abstinence was gewin vp with thame of the castell, it did continew betuixt the regentis grace and Hamiltoun and Huntlie. The Hamiltones thocht best now to ly still, and so the abstinence continewed 15

1573 with thame and Huntlie till the xvi of Februar; be-  
January caus certane persones for the part of the king and  
his regent, and vtheris for the Hamiltones and Huntlie,  
were appointed to meit at St Jhonstoun, for sum ordor  
to be tane with thame for quyetnes and peace at  
what tyme, and pacification was made, as efter will be  
knaivin.

Sir James Balfour had made his moyen befoir with  
the regent, and so remaned not in the castle with the  
rest of the traytoris, albeit he is als grit a traytor as  
ony of thame all. He gave in a long scrole to the  
lordis of the articles of the parliament, that he myght  
be restored to all thingis, &c. whairwith mony stur-  
reth, and in speciall the bischop of Orknay, now Ab-  
bot of Halirudhous, wha protestit for the copie of it;  
but I hard no word that it was obteaned. Sindrie  
scroles were gewin in vpon the said Sir James, de-  
claring his treassonable dealingis in tymes bypast;  
nottheles his dres is made with the regent, and he hes  
tane him in his protectione. Whidder he hes gewin  
a remit for all byganes or not I am vncertane, but al-  
wayes he hes componit with the regent, to whome he  
suld have gewin a sowme of money for his composi-  
tione. Bot the getting agane the Blacknes, and also Mr  
James Kirkaldie payis that, as is reported; for it was  
affirmed that he said to the regent, gif I can get you  
als gude (or better) as my compositione, sall not I be

fred therof? which the regent grantit. For as I have said, it was alledgit, that the said Sir James had written to Mr James Kirkcaldie, befoir his cuming out of France, to cum to the Blacknes, and not to cum to the north; becaus that gif the lord Huntlie had gottin the gold, he wald hald it to him self, or elis the maist part therof, and so give to thame of the castle what he lyked. But howsoever the mater was, the said Mr James come and landit at the Blacknes, a litle efter the parliament, with his cofferis, thinking it had bene sure for him as befoir; and leist that ony thing suld be knawin, but that it ware tane perforce, Sir James, or the captane Alexander Stewart, had gewin advertisment of the said James cuming. The regent sendis out a band of men of weir, and Carmichael with a 40 hors to lye about the hous, that no victualis suld cum to thame; for the captane of that hous had made it scarce of victualis for the nones, and also sent word to the Hamiltones that he was aduertised, that the regent wald send and beseidge him till he was not able to ganestand, both for laik of victualis and vther furnitoris; therefore willed thame to send him support. And so they send him captane Bruce with a doosone of suldeoris or therby, who was tane be the said Carmichale; but it was bruted, that the said captane Bruce was of the counsall of the getting of the hous, quhilk may weill appeir, becaus that he was lat

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January goe agane incontinent efter his tacking. And so efter they had lyne about the said hous (onlie but for the purpose) viii or x dayis they gat it on certane conditiones, that the foirsaid Alexander suld remane captane, gevin his eldest sone in pledge, as he had done to thame of the castle of Edinburgh whan he sauld it to thame befor, and for a remissione of all byganes with sum vther gratitude besydis ; for performance whairof he cumis to Edinburgh, and leivis his brother, Mr Jhone Stewart (a gud and trew man to the king) captane, till he had endit with the regent. And so cumis to Edinburgh about the end of Januar, with all the gold that Mr James had gotten fra thair confederates of France, quhilk was about 12 or 15 thousand frankis.

Efter the said Alexander Stewart had endit and done with the regent, he departes agane to the Blacknes, wha sa sone as he cumes, was laid in irones ; for Mr James Kirkaldie had, in his absence (and seing him self thus deceaved), seducit the suddartis of the place, be gewing to sum 4, sum 5 or 6, and to sum 10 crownes a piece ; and sua the said Mr James became captane, and enclosed the tuo brether Mr Jhone and Alexander, in a lockfast chalmer. The worde whairof cuming to the regentis earis, sent for Elene Leslie, vyfe to the said Mr James, and accused hir for wryting to hir husband ; becaus it was suspected that



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scho had written to<sup>o</sup> him to doe the best he could for him self, saying thair was na grace for him, when yit the contrare was true. Alwayis scho denyed that scho had send him ony sic word ; and also affirmed, that all that he did was sore against her will. Therefter scho was send to her husband, to declare that vnles he gave ower the hous, all that scho had wald be tane from hir ; wha come to hir husband the 10 of Februar, and on the morne the hous was gotin agane, and that on this maner.

Alexander Stewart, the former captane, had made his moyen with 5 or 6 of the foirsaid suldeartis, who had promised to doe what they could to mend thair former deid, when tyme wald serve. But specialie he seducit Mr James awin man, wha was appointed portar to the inner yeat ; so Mr James, with 6 or 7 sud-dartis (for there were not past 16 of the whole), cuming furth to the close to convoy his wyfe to the vtter yeat, they within closes the dungeon yeat of iron vpon him, and vtheris of thame went to the wall heid, cryes vpon Captane Lambie \* and his band, wha was lying neirby, and some vtheris cast doun stones at Mr James in the close ; and so Captane Lambie cumes in,

\* Probably the same who makes so conspicuous a figure in the insults offered to the unfortunate queen by her subjects. A person of this name is keeper of Linlithgow palace 1571.

1573 and Mr James is taken, and they that were with him,  
Feb. and brought to Edinburgh the xi of Februar.

12 On the morne, whilk was Thursday the 12 of  
Februar, betuixt 8 and 9 houris at ewin, the castle  
men fyres ane thacke house out tua [or tua] besydis  
the castle wyne; the winde being at the west, and a  
grit vehement storm of wind, quhilk causes the fyre  
to incres and continew fra hous to hous till it come till  
Foresteris wynde, whair be the providence of God it  
stayit, notwithstanding the grit schoting of the castle.  
God grant, Edinburgh may consider this heavie hand  
of God above thame, that they may turne to him with  
vnfeaned repentance; and so no doubt he sall turne back  
his beating hand and confound the instrumentis, whome  
he sall cast in a fyre that sall never end, gif God of  
his grit mercie convert them not. Mony folkes were  
heried be resson of this vehement and terrible fyre,  
and mony men had als grit lose by the spoyling and  
steilling away of thair geir be the suddartis; whilk  
was borne out into the streitis to save it from the fyre,  
and so mony man gat duple skayth. Had our awin  
triches and corsgardis bene weill kepit, as they ought  
to have bene, the enemy had never interprysed sic  
ane fact.

*Ane bill or complant convoyed and laid vpon the burde,  
befoir the lordis of the articles at the parliament,  
quhilk began in Edinburgh the xv of Januar, and red  
in thair presence.*

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As most honorable and godlie interpryses are ever subject to most danger and perrell, so when your lordships that heir are assemblit, tuik the interpryse of the revenge of the kingis murther (ane actione most neccesar to be vndertaken), for avoyding of the plauge of God, that vsed to be plentifulle powred foorth vpon that countrie, whair the murther remanes vnpvnishit of the purest that passes through the way, lat be of princes ; for expiatione of the quhilk, what diligence is comandit be the mouth of God to the faythfull people of God in his buke, is more then notore ; as also for the honour of your native cuntrie and natione, wha was abhominable to all vther nationes, for the causes and occasione of the samyn murther, that your pure merchantes myght travell in vther partes for the hatred of the name of Scotsmen, conceaveth vpon brute of that foule act. And yit how difficile that ewer the mater was (as it was no litle difficultie), the executor of the murther being growin in that favor of the prince of this realme (the kingis mother I meane), wha as scho had consentit to the doing of the murther, so scho premiat and rewarded him, (as it had bene for

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the best act that he could have wrought), with the soveranitie of himself, hir realme, and lieges, be tacking of him to hir husband, and creating him Duck of Orknay; for no vther caus, but that at hir desyre, he had bene burrio and maist schamefull murtherer of that nobleman, as it were to inarme him with force, with power, with frendship, and with strenth of man against God the true revenger of the wickitnes, whairby they laiketh not counsall and devise to mak force, not onlie to resist whosoever wald revenge, but to pursew, root out, and, destroy, all sic as feared God within this realme, that na impliment suld be left to vnquyet thair devillis and dampnable securitie. At whilk tyme it pleased God, in the middis of hir forces and strenth, to mak hir to stoup and yield hir self vnto your honoris; the executore of the cryme tacking the cryme vpon him and fleing away, as he that feared to receave the rewarde of his syn; at whilk tyme your honoris direct hir be honest moyen to yield to our soverane lord the crowne of this realme, so deir bought to him, as be the crewell death of his deir father; and to establis the administratioun of this realme in his tender age in the persone of certane noblemen successivelie, of whom sum part are taken to the mercie of God, and vther part are yet alyve: but whais godlie government, pairtlie be hir aiding out of warde, that scho was depute to; pairtlie by vther occasiounes and inconvenien-

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tis as occurred; sic as the death and vntymous taking away of my lord of Murray, first regent, it is a wonder how far sum of the perteaneris of the murther and counsallaris thairto, have spurnit to reiect and abolis the same, moved licklie and in a part, be the desyre to hald this cuntrie in ane perpetuall truble, that ther-through they myght have an impunitie of the enorme faultis, that thair cankered consciences dytes thame to be guyltie of; as also of the vther part, be the truble of your native cuntre and civile warre, that they help to suffocat therin, to spend the most part and best amongis your honoris, that they may heirefter get promoted sic as misteris rather a tutill of vtheris, than to have charge above vtheris whome of they may have the government, and consequentlie of this miserable and unfortunat cuntrie. In the quhilk my lordis, your honoris suld consider, be sic menis proceadingis in tymes past, what thair meaning may be now, and in tymes cuming, gif ye sall resave thame amonges you. Speciallie Sir James Balfour and his brother, and not give thame the remedie of thair deserving; in the quhilk it will pleis your honoris to call to mynd thair former fidelitie at all tymes, thair proceidingis thir four yeiris bygane, thair constancie in nothing, but in all kynd of ewill, baith towardis your honoris and their native cuntrie.

What moved thame after the recent benefite done vnto thame be dispositione of the erle of Bothwellis

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eschett, the promoting of the said Sir James to the office of the president in the seat, and vtheris grit benefites done be my said lord Murray, than regent, to him; of the quhilkis your honoris are not yit out of remembrance, at my saidis lordis being in England for the defence of this gude caus, without my lordis (that said is) knowledge, and nawayis to his comoditie to enter in conference with the quene the kyngis mother, then at Bóultoun, and be so familiar with her at that time, as that no Scottisman in Scotland receaved meissives from hir than the said Sir James?

What movit him and his marrowes to enter in league with the Duck of Northfolk, vnwitting of the said lord regent, for promoting of the said duck to the supremacie of the realmes of England and Scotland, subvertione of trew religione, and exterminatiōe of your honoris, and all that professed God and the treuth, in both the realmes? Who also at my lord regentis, my lord of Murrayis tackin away, was so busie to procure that greit seditione and intestine truble, whilk since that time hes continewed in this realme, and hes consumed so mony and able noblemen and vtheris, that in tyme of forrane weiris, with thair waliantnes, wald have done grit honor to their native cuntrie, whilk begouth at the counsall comonlie callit the *meill mercat*\*, whair-

\* It is said by historians of this period, that the queen's party were called by the other, in derision, lords of the meal-market. No satisfactory reason is assigned for it.

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vnto he was chieftest counsallor? ane mutation strange to behauld, and of the quhilk the embassadore to the quenis majestie in England for the tyme, Mr Randolph be name, in thir partis, reprovand the said Sir James, reported no vther answer nor reason of the samyn, but *tempora mutantur et nos mutamur in illis*; whilk was alsmeikle in meaning as, he culd stand content neather with government nor authoritie in this cuntrie, but that that made for him. And yit, when ewer he sawe tyme, he culd wag as the buss wagged, and tak the way that myght mak him advancement, howbeit that the same were to the destructione of all honest and godlie men, and of his native cuntrie also.

What movit him, bearing office of counsallor and president of the seat of the Colledge of Justice of our soverane lord, yea and efter sa mony subscriptiones, and eathis gevin, to mak trew service to our soverane lord, to pas to Linlythgow, and thair mak to be proclaimed, that all men suld obey the quene; and at that tyme to cum out in most ware lyke maner, with carted ordinance, to the brige of Evan, to stop the ane half of your honoris to meit with the vther for conference of materis to the weill of this pure realme?

Wha was the setter fordwart of that trayturous proclamatione of ane parliament to be haldin at Linlythgow the 2 of August nixt thereafter, for deprivatione

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of our soverane lord and his authoritie royall, or wha movit him therto?

Wha cryed out faster, that your honoris was all Englis traytoris, for the revendge taking be the support of England vpon the Hamiltonis? for the quhilk causis efterward they led a grit part of proces against your honoris of forfaitour, in thair pretendit parliament.

What conquest ment they to mak vpon the kingis hienes, and his obedient subiectis of Mearnes, Anguse, and Fyffe, being in the north, in the erle of Huntleis company, and consulting him to man the place of Brichen, and steple therof, and be sure of Brochtie? yea, what warre and truble thought he to have brought in the bowelis of Fyfe, and finallie in thir partis at this tyme, gif God had not inspyrit your honoris hartis, to cutt short thair interpryse, and mak it for nought? which iorney held off that grit truble that they thought to have begun at the inputting of the corne to the Apprile nixt thereafter in this cuntrie.

Wha was the grit counsallor of the tacking of St Geilis stiple and kirk? Wha begouth the tacking vp of men of warre?

Wha begouth the haulding and fortifeing of the toun of Edinburgh, in contrare the king and his regentis; and to mak that noble toun, which was the onlie patrone of iustice, policie, and gude discipline, in



the religione of this realme, ane vther Liddisdaill?  
 Yea, wha was prowest therto for the tyme, and wha  
 was maid captane of that devillis band called the *chym-*  
*ney band* \* ?

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Wha fenced that traytorous parliament, for the an-  
 nuling of the kingis hienes authoritie? Wha dytit thir  
 wordis, and comandit the clerkis to wryt thame, in the  
 parliament of our soverane ladie?

Wha forfeited principallie all your honoris?

Wha was of the counsall to send his brother to the  
 parliament in Stirveling, whair all your honoris lyves  
 were most crewellie sought, and my gud Lord Len-  
 nox, regent, with many vther noble gentlemen, were  
 most traytoruslie slaine?

Wha after that caused hing innocent Charles Dou-  
 glas and vtheris, trew and faythfull servandis to our  
 soverane lord?

Wha pulled and spoyled the whole gudis and geir  
 of thame that for the yeale of God, and favor of our  
 soverane lord; left thair housses, gudis, geir, and  
 levīngis within the town, and come to Leyth, to ex-

\* So far as I can understand the meaning of this, it alludes to a period of great scarcity of fuel in Edinburgh, before narrated, when timber was sold by weight. It seems that an officer was appointed to regulate this matter, who was employed to seize refractory persons whose houses were condemned for fuel; and thence called, 'be the vulgar people,' as an old author expresses it, 'Captane of the Chimnayses.' The chief part of the city was then built of wood, a fashion that continued to a much later period.

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pose thair lyves to danger and perrell at all tymes, for the kyngis service?

Wha maist chieffie, pulled downe, reasit, and villanuslie cast downe the houses, biggingis, and policie, the ornamentis of this towne and cuntrie lykwayis, and that for despite, that sic men whais houses they destroyed wald not be lyk to thame, traytoris to their native cuntrie and soverane king?

Wha at all skyrmisses and vther tymes of persute of the king and his faythfull subiectis, hundit out with bauch strockis, and vther sic interteanment, all the pure folkes of the towne, that they had haldin in befoir hungering, to cum contrair our soverane and his regent; the auld priestis depositione at his death, wha was hinget for cuming against our soverane lord, and his said regent, vpon the Tursday, can sufficiently testifie. What needeth more wordis?

Na toving can express the wickitnes of that man and his brother, nor the hurt that they have procured to the king and his trew subiectis, which is so notorious to all your honouris, that probatione neidis thair none; for ye have bene hearing and seing witnesses to the most part of all thir foirsaidis. Whairfoire my lordis, luke weill what ye doe befoir ye resave thame in among you, or consent that my lord regentis grace, who will vse your honoris counsall, grant thame pardone. Consider first the qualitie of the men, that sen the tyme

they were condempnit to the gaillois, never could be of quyet mynd, but ever disperatlie procurand of sedition, lyk as thair whole lyfe and conversatione will beare record.

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Nixt, they are but precursoris and fore runneris to all that devilis factione that has waisted this cuntrie, whome to ye can na wayis deny the favor and pardon that ye sall grant thame wha is les guiltie and falteris than they.

Also ye sall have thame, without the heall mas come into obedience, sic as they were in my lord regentis my lord of Murrayis dayis, to the quene and hiris.

Item, it is said, when they have gottin thair purse full agane, ye sall have thame proceedand to thair accustomed fassione and dealing ; and thair is no securitie that can be desyrit, that can mak men sure of sic persones.

As also, gif your honoris sall consent to thair remissiones, your honoris sall procure the grittist skayth to this cuntrie that ever come ; for the youth salbe therby movit to think treasone, oppresione, murther, and sic vther odious crymes as thir men has comitted, no faultis ; nor with the feare of iustice sall nawayis be movit to leive off the comitting of the same, but ever hope for impunitie, as they sie thir men get ; quhilk salbe the grittest skayth that ever come to this comone wealth.

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Secundlie, it salbe iudged be all nationes that sall heir of your proceidingis in this part, that it was not the murther of the king that ye have sought the revendge of, when as ye sall schaik handis with the principall counsalloris therof, but your awin promotione, to the hurt and destructione of your native cuntrie.

Thridlie, how can ye hald vp your faces, gif God sall fortoun you to leive till the king our soverane come to perfectione of yeiris or what answir can ye give him, why ye have vnquyetit this his cuntrie so lang with weir, by fyre, sword, and slaughter of his subjectis. For gif ye will say that it was for the revendge of the murther, it will be said, that meaned ye never; for ye have lattin flie the principall doaris and counsalloris therof, whairfore your self or your posteritie may resave sic punisment as disturbaris of a comone wealthe and wrackaris of your native cuntrie merits.

Fourtlie, it is to be supposed, that God remanes yet that self same God that he has bene hitherto, who be his ministeris exhorted my lord of Murray, than regent, to tak away the ewill from this cuntrie, and punéiss the authoris of the murther, without that he wald have that answer gevin him by God, that was gevin to Achab be the servant of God, when he said vnto him, ' Because thou hes lattin him gang that the Lord appointed to death, behauld thy lyfe for his lyfe, and thy people for his people.' The admonition being continewed be him (alace for pitie), what followed

theron iudge ye my lordis. What now the Lord is able to doe, your bodeis and housses that abydis behind gif ye sall comit the lyk fault, and owersie at this present, thir wicket men ordeaned be God to be punished to death for thair abhominable deides, that no toving can expres, I comit to your iudgmentis.

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What answir this bill get, I reid not.

Efter the parliament, the lordis appointed be the regent past to St Jhonstoun to treat with the comissioneris of the Hamiltones and the lord Huntlie, whair this treatis following was concludit. God bring all to a gude yssue, and revenge the blood of innocentis, at thy gud pleasour.

At Perth, the 23 of Februar, 1572 [3] yeiris, the noble and myghtie lordis vnderwritten, they are to say, Archibald erle of Argyle, Lorne, Campbell, and of Lorne chancelare, iustice-generall of this realme, Jhone erle of Montrois, lord Graham, William Lord Ruthwen, thesaurer to our soveran lord, Robert lord Boyd, Robert, comendator of Dumfermeling, his hienes' secretare, and sir Jhone Balenden of Achinowle, knyght, clerk of his maiesties justiciary, comissioneris for his hienes to the effect vnderwritten, speciallie constitute on that ane part; and George erle of Huntlie, lord Gordoun, and Badyenocht, for him self, kin, friendis, and pertackeris, now properlie depending on him, and lord Jhone Hamiltoun, comendatour of the

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abbey of Arbrothe, for him self, and taking the burding on him for lord Claud Hamiltoun his brother, and all vther the kin, freindis, servantis, and pertackeris depending on the duckis grace of Chatteralot thair father, and hous of Hamiltoun, on the vther part; being convenit for treating of the removing of the present trubles and civile weir within this realme so long continewing therin, to the displeasour of God, the decay and danger of his trew religione, the hurt and preiudice of our soverane lordis authoritie royall, and to the confusione of the lawes, policie, and whole estate of the comone wealth.

Having heirvnto the most earnest motion and solistatione of the quenis maiestie of England, narrest princes of the world to his hienes, both be blood and habitatione, made on hir hienes behalf be the ryght worschipfull Mr Henrie Killigraue, esquyre, hir hienes embassadour; efter mature deliberatione, and advysement, to the pleasour of almightie God, who is the God of peace, incres and suretie of the estate of the trew religione, and of the royall persone of our soverane lord, and quyet peace and quyetnes of the realme, have convenit, concordit, and concludit as efter folowes.

First, That all and whatsumever persones that sall clame to ony benefite of this present pacificatione, and of our soverane lordis favcur and pardone to be gran-

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ted, sall acknowledge, affirme, and confes the confes-  
sione of Christian fayth and true religione of Jesus  
Christ, now publictly preichit and professit within this  
realme, establissed and authorised be lawes and actis  
of parliament, in the first yeir of our sovrane lordis  
reigne, and sall at the vttermost of thair poweris men-  
teane, fortifie, and assist the trew-preichouris of the  
word of God against whatsumever enemies or gane-  
standeris of the same; and namelie against sic of what-  
sumever natione, estate, or degre they be of, that hes  
ioynit or band thame selvis, or hes assisted or assistes  
to set fordwart and execute the crewell decreitis of  
the counsell of Trent, quhilk most iniuriouslie is cal-  
led be the adversareis of Godis trueth the holie league,  
contrare the preicheouris and trew professouris of the  
word of God.

That the erle of Huntly and lord Jhone Hamiltoun,  
for thame selfis and vtheris above specifeit, now sub-  
mittand themselvis to his hienes obedience and governe-  
ment of James erle of Mortoun and lord Dalkeyth,  
present regent to his maiestie, his realme, and lieges,  
and vther regentis, to be lauchfullie constitute during  
his hienes minoritie, for thame selfis, thair ayres, and  
successouris, presentlie and in all tyme cuming recog-  
nosces his hienes authoritie and regiment foirsaid, and  
acknowledges them to be his detbund subiectis, be

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thir actis and subscriptiones, and sic of thame as hes voit in parliament to give thair assent therto.

They grant and confes that all thingis done or assisted be ony of thame, in name and cullour of vther authoritie nor of our soverane lordis, sen his hienes coronatione, against ony that professed his maiesties obedience for the tyme, hes bene vnlauffull, and is of none force, weght, nor effect, and sall have no executione for ony tyme bygane or for to come.

That it salbe statute and ordeaned be ane act of parliament, that nane of the subiectis of this realme sall, directlie or indirectlie, be thame selves, neather assist, fortifie, supplie, or schaw favour to ony of the subiecties of the realme, or strangers that sall privelye practeis or oppinlie pretend ony treassonable fact, vproare, or hostilitie against the trew religione foirsaid, or the persone of our soverane lord, his said present regent and royall authoritie in tyme cuming, vnder the pane of the law. And further, in cais ony persones returning, or that sall happin to be receavit to his hienes obedience in the contract, and resistis not the tressonable factis, vproaris, and hostileis at the vttermost of thair poweris, his maiesties remissione and pardone presentlie to be granted, nor na vther benefite of this pacificatione to serve or be extendit in their favouris thereafter; bot they to be persewed and puneist for thair offence by-



past, as gif no remissione pardone, or pacificatione, had bene granted to thame therfore.

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That all persones professing his hienes obedience, disposesseth during the trubles, sall be possessit to thair houses, livingis, benefices, landis, tackis, rentis, cornes, gudis moveable now extant, in the possessione of the first intermetteris thairwith, except hors and armour; and for executione, gif neid beis, and repossessing of the personis disposesseth of houses, that our soverane lordis lettres be direct be the said regent within six dayis after the charge, vnder the paines of treasone and horning, and for levingis, that lettres of the foure formes be direct be the lordis of the counsall and sessione sumarelie without calling.

That the house of Spynie salbe delyverit to our soverane lord and his regent foirsaid, when it salbe requyred, upon xv dayis warning; that the master of Forbes, James Glen of the Bar, and his sones, and vther prisoneris, be presentlie (with all possible diligence efter the publicatione of this first pacificatione) set at libertie; that the lord Semple his band, and all vther bandis for enterie of prisoneris, or bandis and promises for payment of ransome, in ony tyme bygane, preceeding the deat heirof, be frie and discharged be virtue of this present pacificatione; that all thingis promisit be abstinence salbe performit, and all thingis to the contrair thairof salbe restored,

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redressit, repared, and accordit to the simple availe, at the sicht and iudgment of Jhone erle of Montrois, lord Grahame, Jhone lord Glamis, and sir Jhone Wyshart of Pittarrow, knyght, coniunctlie, all actis that are comittit against the said abstinence be north the watters of Tay, and they to sit in the burgh of Perth; and lord Boyd, Mark, comendatour of Newbottell \*, and sir Jhone Ballenden of Auchinowle, knyght, coniunctlie, for all attemptatis comittit against the said abstinence, that is be south the watter of Tay, and they to sit in the toun of Edinburgh, without ony limitatione of tyme in respect of none publicatione of the said abstinence at certane places, saving discretione, as they sall try, *ex equo et bono*, and they sall discern within ane yeir efter the intending and persewing of the actione, and compulsatouris salbe direct at the instance of eather of the saidis parteis be the lordis of sessione, vtherwayis for compelling of the saidis iudges to discern within the said space; and gif the parteis skaythed intendis and persewis not within yeir and day efter the publicatione of this pacificatione present, that they tyne thair actione for ony thing excepted against them sen the recording of the said abstinence, and nawayes to be hard to pursew

\* A son of Ker of Cessford, and father of the first earl of Lothian.

therefter befoir vther iudges in ony tyme to cum; and incais the said iudges, or ony of thame, inlaik and accept not, that vtheris be agrement be put in thair places, and that alwayis na vther iudges have power to cognosce or decyde in the saidis matteris.

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That the said erle of Huntlie and lord Jhone Hamiltoun sall presentlie brek and discharge thair men of war, sa that they may remain at thair awin dwellingis.

And forsamekle as for the better assurance of the persones now returning to our soverane lordis obedience and observacione of the conditiones above specified, pledges hes bene requyred of thame all; alsweill cationeris as soverties, to be bound with thame selfis for thair debtfull obedience in tyme cuming. The said erle Huntlie and lord Jhone Hamiltoun, at the sute and request of the quenes maiesties of Englandis embassadour foirsaid, restored thame in the will and discretion of the said lord regent, and towardis the enterie and delyverance of the saidis pledges, are alwayes content to find the saidis cationeris and soverties, bund with thame selfis vnder panes, as the said lord regent sall ressonable prescryve.

In respect of the quhilk conditiones agreit vnto, and of the suretie to be made for performance therof, it is accordit for the suretie of the persones now returning to our sovrane lordis obedience, vpon weghtie

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and gude consideratione, tending to the furthering and establissing of the peace and quyetnes and vniversall obedience to be made of his hienes authoritie, and for thair trew obedience to be made and observit be thame in all tyme cuming. That be act of parliament it salbe declared and decerned, that the proces and soverteis past of domes of forefaltour, alsweill in parliament as befoir in justice courts; as also all horningis, penalties following thervpon, which has bene led and deducit against . . . . . George erle of Huntlie, lord Jhone Hamiltoun of Arbroth, Claud Hamiltoun, comendatour of Paislay, William Bischop of Aberdene, Alexander Bischop of Galloway, Adam Gordoun of Achindoun, Alexander Hamiltoun of Goslintoun, knyght, Jhone Hamiltoun of Stenous, Alexander Hamiltoun of Innerweik, George Barklay of that ilk, James Hamiltoun of Ruichbank, James Hamiltoun of Woodhall, Jhone Hamiltoun of Dram, Gavin Hamiltoun of Roplech, Robert Hamiltoune of Garne, and Jhone Hamiltoun his brother, Mr James Hamiltoun of Milkesland, Alexander Hamiltoun of Lekprevick, Robert Hamiltoun younger of Daserf, Mr Archibald Hamiltoun his brother, Alexander Hamiltoun of Netherfeild, Jhone Hamiltoun of Culros, Arthour Hamiltoun of Mirretoun, James Hamiltoun of Marktoun maines, James Hamiltoun in Burnebray, Archibald and Andro Hamiltones, brother sones to

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Andro of Cockno, Thomas Hamiltoun of Preistfeild, James Hamiltoun of Sprowestown, James Muirhead of Lansip, Alexander Baillie of Littlegill, William Baillie of Tormestoun, James Glen of the Bar, Williame Glen his sone; befoir his iuctice, or his deputes, or his regent, or lordis of privie counsall, for ony crymes done in the comone caus contrair his hienes and his authoritie, or ony depending thervpon, sen the xv day of Junij, in the yeir of God 1567 yeiris, or for ony vther causes conteaning in the sumondis, sasing, proces, sentence, or domes foirsaid led against them sen the said xv day of Junij, in the yeir foirsaid, sall have na executione, but be void and of na waill, strenth, force, nor effect in all tyme cuming, without ony proces of speciale reductione or vther declaratione to follow thervpon. And that the said act of parliament salbe als valable, in all respectis, as gif the saidis, proces, sentences, and domes of forefalter, horningis, and penalties following thair vpon were reducit ordinarilie vpon the sumondis, all parteis haiffand entres being callit. And that this present article sall extend to all vtheris persones forefalted properlie comprehendit vnder this present pacificatione, that they also sall have his hienes licens and favour to reduce thair forefaltoris for sic ressonable causes as they can lybell.

And towardis thair escheatis of thair moveable gudis forefaltit for ony cryme comitted in the comone cause,

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or depending therupon, or for ony vther causes and crymes conteanit in the saidis sumondis, treasone, proces, sentences, or domes foirsaidis led against ony thervpon, the samyn sall remane within them selvis: r'rovyding always, that all gudis moveable, and debtis intrometted with and vptaken, whairvpon decreit was obtaned be vertew of escheat in tymes bygane before the according of the abstinence, vpon the penult day of Junij last by past, sall remane to the donatouris to the samyn and intrometteris therwith; and, in lyk maner, all panes and vnlawes restand awand or taken vp and not intromettit with for noneentrie of the said persones or ony of them, to vnderly the law, or for nonrecompence befor the lordis of secret counsall and regent in tyme bygane, to be simple discharged be vertew of the said act.

Item, be the act of parliament, it salbe declared, that all sic persones now returning to the kingis obedience, or that hes returned therto during the trubles past, quhilkis be forfalter, actis, or decreitis of the privie counsall or session, for crymes comitted in the said comone caus or barratrie sen the first xv day of Junij, in the yeir of God 1567 yeiris, hes bene disposessit of thair landis or heretages, benefices, pensiones of benefices, heritable offices, honoris, takis, stedingis, possessione of landis or teindis, and levingis whatsumever, salbe restored effectuouslie to the pos-

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sessione therof, rehabilitat to thair bludis and honoris, and enioy the samyn als suire as they did at ony tyme heirtofore, and as gif the trubles bypast had never happenit, notwithstanding ony proces or sentence past be dome of forefalter, eather in the parliament or befoir the justice and his deputis, at particular dyetis in justice court, or ony vtheris horningis and penalteis following thervpon quhatsumever, proceeding vpon the said comone caus. And for executione heirof, and repossessing of the persones dispossessit of houses, that our soverane lordis lettres be direct be the regent within sex dayis, vnder the panes of treassone and horning; and for levingis, that lettres be direct, in the foure formes, be the lordis of sessione, sumarlie without calling of the personis craving to be repossessit; alwayis first making thair obedience be thair aithes and subscriptiones, and findand certane catione as said is.

Item, as tuiching the article, requyring that ane act sall pas in parliament, declaring the saidis persones to be frielie remittit and discharged for all actiones, crymes, treasones, transgressiones, or offences whatsumever, comitted be thame, or ony of thame in tyme bygane, in the said comone caus, or ony thingis depending thervpon sen the xv day of June foirsaid, 1567 yeiris, against whatsumever persones being in the contrarie syde, professing ane vther authoritie for the tyme (incest, witchcraft, and thift excepted), the

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samyn article is aggreit and condiscondit vnto, saving in sa-far as may extend to the murthereris of the vmquhile erle of Murray, and vmquhile erle of Lennox, gudschir, lait regent to his hienes realme, and liegis, which are matteris of sic wyght and importance, as the said lord regent can not convenientlie of him self remit thame; yit, in respect of the present pacificatione, it is accordit, that the mater of remissione of the saidis murthereris beand movit be the personis receavand the said remissione to the quenis maiestie of England, being, as is afoirsaid, princes narrest to our said soverane lord, bayth be blude and habitatione, in what forme scho sall advyse and counsall, tuiching the remissione of the saidis murthereris. The said lord regent, with consent of parliament, for the weill of our soverane lord, and for the vaiversall quyetnes of this heall realme sall performe, observe, and fulfill the samyn; quhilk remissione, in forme of ane act of parliament, subscrivit be the Clerk of Register, salbe als gud and sufficient to the saidis personis and ilk ane of thame, as gif remissione ware past to thame in speciall vnder the grit seale; or they sall have the samyn remissione in dew forme vnder the grit seale, as best pleases thame.

And gif ony of thame desyres remissione for ony cryme preceeding the xv day of Junij, in the yair of God, 1567 yeiris, the samin salbe grantit to thame,



the persones and crymes being modifeit : The mur-  
ther of the king our soverane lord his father, and all  
yther murthereris, fyre reasing, thift, resait of thift,  
inceest, witchcraft, allenerlie excepted.

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Item, all sic civile proces past during the trubles,  
sen the said 15 day of Junii, in the yeir of God 1567  
yeiris, whairwith the saidis persones or ony of thame,  
findis thame selvis grivit or iniurit, salbe resaivet be  
the iudges and ordinaries, giffaris of the decreitis;  
and the parteis vpon thair supplicatione salbe hard to  
propone ony lauchfull defence that they myght have  
used the tyme of the deductione of the proces; or gif  
they may alledge ony nullitie to have bene in the deduc-  
tione therof, they salbe also hard thervpon, the [be]  
supplicatione als weill as the [be] reductione, provyding  
that the persones alledgene thame selvis grevit or in-  
iuret, intend and execute thair saidis preceptis or sup-  
plicationes for that caus, within sex monethis efter  
the dait heirop; and in the mean tyme, all executione  
to ceis vpon catione or consignatione, at the directione  
of the iudges.

Item, as for the fructis, moveable gudis, eather per-  
teaning to his hienes, or his subiectis, quhilkis the  
saidis persones now returning to the kingis obedience,  
hes tane fra persones professing his hienes obedience, or  
damages or skaythis done, or comittit be thame sen the  
said xv day of Junij, 1567 yeiris, preceeding the ac-  
cording of the abstinence, vpon the penult day of

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Julij last bypast, through the said comone caus, or ony thing depending thervpon, against the parties with whome they then stude in controversie and debait; becaus the materis are of sic weght, it is accordit, that the samin being movit to the quenis maiestie of England, whatsumever scho suld advise and consult theranent, the said lord regent sall performe, fulfill, and observe the samin with consent of parliament.

The rentis, fewfarmes, and meales of the lands of Pet-tindrich, and thrid of Dumffes in Murray, being ane part of our soverane lordis propertie intronettit with, and vptacken be the said erle of Huntlie, or ony in his name in tymes bygane, is be virtue of this pacificatione frielie remittit and dischargit.

And as tuiching the rentis of the thridis of benefices, comone kirkis, or frer landis lykwayis intronettit with, and vptacken be the said erle of Huntlie, and lord Jhone Hamiltoun, or ony in thair names during the trubles, the said lord regent sall mak sute to the kirk at the Generall Assemblie therof, for procuring of sic discharge of the same rentis as may be had; the said erle of Huntlie doing the lyk; special declaratione being made be the said erle and lord Jhone what is tacken vp and intronettit with in thair names.

That all men comprehendit vnder this pacificatione, efter publicatione therof, be indifferentlie receavit, and

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[haldin] as the remanent of our soverane lordis lieges, ower all partis of this realme; and that nothing done or occurit during the trubles in the said comone caus, or ony thing depending thervpon, be comittit as deidlie feid in iudgment, nor be ony exceptione against iudge, partie, assise, or vtherwayis.

That the ayres and successoris of persones forfaitit, properlie comprehendit vnder this pacificatione, and now departit off this lyfe, be restored, rehabilitate, and made lawfull to enter be breivis to thair landis and possessiones, and exerce all leiffull deidis in iudgment and without, notwithstanding the forefalter led against thair fatheris and predecessoris, and as gif they had died at our soverane lordis fayth and peace; and especiallie Jhone, archbischope of St Androis, Gawin, comendator of Kilwinning, Andro Hamiltoun of Cockno, Jhone Hamiltoun his sone, and captane James Cullen, and the act of parliament to pas thervpon. That the captanes of men of ware, vnderwritten with the memberis of thair cumpaneis, salbe comprehendit in this present pacificatione; and also the hail suddartis and men of weir, which servit vnder thair charges, or attemptit deidis of hostilitie, and crymes comitted during the trubles, and befoir the said last day of Julij bypast, being alwayis subject to answir to all thingis done sen the abstynence, was accordit vnto, as the remanent subiectis of the realme. They are to

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say, captane Bruce, Jhone Hamiltoun of Kilbowie, his lievetenant, Jhone Robesone in Bradwoodsye his enseigne: Captane Thomas Ker, James Arbuthneth his lievetenant, Thomas Daling enseigne: Gilbert Wauschope, Mathew Aikman, his lievetenant, and corporall Jonat, his enseigne: Robert Craufurd, called Gantilat, and James Oliphant. And the articles and conditiones befoir specifeit, salbe further executed, gif neid beis, in sic forme as may serve for the suretie of the persones now returning to our soverane lordis obedience, the substance not being alterit; and that it be ample interpretit and extendit to the favors of the foirnamed persones now returnit to our soverane lordis obedience, for the sufficient suretie of there lyves, landis, levingis, pensiones, benefices, honoris, and gudis, moveable and vnmoveable, whatsumever danger or calamitie ony wayis may tend to thair hurt or preiudice.

Be it alwayis vnderstand, that this present pacificatione, nor na benefite of the samin, extendis not to ony persone presentlie absent and furth of the realme, or to ony personis specialie excepted in the first abstinence, accordit vnto the penult day of Julij last bypast.

In whilkis heall articles and conditiones of this present pacificatione, accordit vnto in maner and forme as is above specifeit, our soverane lordis comissionaris, as also the vther noblemen above specifeit,

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solempnedlie promised and sweare the trew intentione and faythfull performance and observatione of the same in tymes cuming, in to the presence of the quenis maiestie of Englandis embassadore foirsaid, and in fayth and witnessing of the samyn, hes subscryvit thir presentis with thair handis; and his hienes comissioneris hes delyverit to the said erle of Huntlie, and comendator of Arbrothe, thair remissionē vnder his great seall; and the said comendator promises on his honor, that the lord Claud Hamiltoun, his brother, sall approve and subscryve also the articles and conditiones of the pacificatione above specifedit.

And mareattour it is accordit, that na horning for payment of thriddis, execute aganis the persones now returning to the kingis obedience, during the trubles, be valiable; but this pacificatione to be als sufficient relaxation as gif they were speciallie relaxit, without preiudice to execute the charges and denunciatione of lettres past be decreitis of delyverance of the lordis of sessione of new; and this article to extend to all horningis execute for ony thing done [in] the same comone caus, or depending thervpon, or for not compeirand befoir the regent and lordis of privie counsall. *Sic subscribitur:*

Argyle,  
Ruthven,  
Bellenden,

Montrois,  
Boyd,  
Dunfermeling,

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The Generall Assemblie of the kirk assemblit as they were wont the 6 of December, and sat till that day 8 dayis. Sindrie and dyvers thingis were thair treatit, especiallie that the lord Argyle desyred partiesane of his wyfe for non adherence. He producit the ordor vsed against hir, of hir chargene to adheir thrie or foure tymes be the superintendentis lettres, vnder the pane of excommunicatione, which was comandit be the assemblie to be execute in the Abbay kirk be Jhone Brand, minister thair for the tyme.

This tyme the regent gave in a bill to the assemblie, desyring that sum of the ministeris myght be appointed to sit, and placed in the colledge of justice, according to the fundation. The letter followes :

*The regentis letter to the Generall Assemblie.*—For-samekle as the equall half of the ordiner number of the senatoris of the Colledge of Justice, be the institution therof, are appointed to be of the spirituall estate, and that certane places now waikis, whairthrow ther is oft tymes default of a full number, to the grit hinderance of iustice, not onlie to the whole subiectis in generall, but in particulare to the ministrie, having so mony thingis to crave be ordor of justice. And my lord regentis grace being of mynd to supplie the places of the spirituall estate vaikand, with personages, godlie, lerned, and of gud iudgment; and that the ministrie hes thought convenient to sig-

nifie his intentione to the kirk now assemblit, to the 1573  
effect they may think it gude, and allow that sic per-  
sones in the functione of the ministrie as his grace sall  
chois to be of the sessione, may be placed therin when  
tyme servis therto. Subscryvit,

JAMES, regent.

END OF THE JOURNAL.

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THIS LETTER FOLLOWING WAS SENT OUT OF THE CASTLE OF LETHINGTOUN TO THE LARD OF CARMICHELL, THAT HE SULD SCHAW IT TO THE LORD OF MORTOUN THEN REGENT.

Memorandum, to desyre my coosing the lard of Carmichale, to speik to my lord of Mortoun, and to schaw him, that hearing the extreme point that he was at, gif I had bene able to have travellit my self, I wald have sought ane assurance, and cumet to have spokken with him my self, for the declaratioun of the purposes following. Sen the indisposition of my persone will not suffer me, I will pray my said coosing, to desyre him in my name, to call to his remembrance what freindschip hes bene of auld betwene him and me; what gude offices I have done to him, and whair of my credit with the quene hes mony tymes servit him, alsweill in advancing him to honor and reputatioun in the countrie, as in the satelling of him and his dearest in the securitie of their levingis. I trew he will confess, that by my onlie laboris he was maid Chancellor, when the erle of Murray was bent to purches the rowme to his gudfather the lord Merschell. I think also he will acknowlege, that I was the cheif instrument to labour the quenis consent, and that specialie be my credite the securitie was purchassed of both



the houses of Angus and Mortoun. I neid not repeat the gude part I keapit to him during his trouble; what danger mony wayis I put myself in through that occasione. This part is knawin to few sa weill as to him self; I trust in his conscience he man think he never receaved so mony gud turnes at ony one manis handis, and that all that I did was onlie of kyndnes, and not for his geir. I never sought landis nor rowme at him in recompence; and when he offerit me geir, the messingeris are yit on lyfe, can testifie that I refused it. Sua that he man confess I was not his pensioner, and therefore deserved the moir gude will of him.

I desyre him, on the vther part, to remember how of lait tyme he hes vsit me; I will not rehears the whole, which ware ower long, but onlie tuiche the principall poyntis. He was the cheif procurare, solistere, and better fordwart of my pretendit forfaitoure for a cryme whairof he knawis in his conscience I was als innocent as him self. Gif he had procured my forfaitor for repyning against the kingis authoritie, I wald have tane it in the better part; bot I know he tuike the way he thocht wald mak me most odious to the people, whairthrow I am the less behaldin to him. Be his moyen and furthsetting, I am dispossesseth of my whole leving, and the same sparpeled in dyveris handis; whairthrow he hes thocht to lay the mea blockis in my way

1572 to recover it. All my particulare enemeis dependis vpon him ; and he hes tackin the protectione of the most part of thame, not for ony freindschip was betuene him and thame befoir, bot onlie, as I may coniecture, becaus they are my enemeis. Weill, efter sa mony gude causes as I made him, appearandlie there suld have proceadit sum grit caus on my part, that suld have movit him to change the former freindschip in so great inimitie. I desyre him lykwayis to call to his remembrance what fault he can alledge, for the which I have deserved to be this ewill vsed. He will perhaps think that I maid not sic dependence on him as he desyred, and therfore tuke my mynd to be changed on him ; yit was this no caus why he suld desyre or procure my destructione. He may not alledge that I sought be ony meanis the wrack of his persone or his hous, or yit befoir he enterit in plane hostilitie against me, I had vsed my part of ane . . . . . He will perhaps say, that without his advise I entered in intelligence with the quene. Albeit I had so done, it deservit not that efter so grit freindschip as I had schawin him, he suld have become my mortall enemie, and yit he man confess, that in that behalf also I gave him gude advice ; and being assured that with tyme, scho wald recover hir libertie (as yit I have no doubt but scho will), I estemed it neather wisdome for him nor me, to deserve particulare ill will at hir handis.

As for my self, I went about to have hir my freind ; 1572  
sa God is my iudge, I meanit in the beginning to have  
ane vniversall reconciliatione with hir, of all thame  
with whome I was ioyned in the comone cause.

Thus I have tuiched his part towardis me, and  
myne towardis him, whair of of reasone, I think I am  
and hes bene ewill vsed ; yit I speik it not at this  
tyme, to reproche him of ingratitude, but for ane  
vther intent moir godly and honorable for vs both,  
sen God hes viseit bayth him and me with corporall  
diseases, and litle lyckliehoode that ewer we sall meit  
face to face : I wold wishe for releife of bayth our  
consciencs, that these causes were removed, and heir-  
after better effectis to follow. I knaw him to be a  
vyse man, and is able aneughe to foirsee that the  
world is not sa tedderit, but gif he inlaik they that  
he aught to cair fore may have neid of freindis. It  
may be, that for all that is past I may be in place, whair  
I may both doe gude and ill, stand my freindis in  
steade, and be ane evill neighbour to my enemeis. I  
desyre not to be the goate, to cast doun at nyght the  
mylk I have gevin all the day. Sen I have done so  
mekle for the hous of Anguse and Mortoun, that sum-  
tyme he said, thair suld a memoriall of my kyndnes  
remane in thair charter kistis, I desyre not ony oc-  
casione be left, may move me to wishe the douncast-  
ing of that I helpit to build.

1572      Gif befoir he inlaik, he will mak effectuall demonstratione, that he myndis the reparatione of my losses, in a ressonable manner, I can yit be content that all the evill offices past be buried in perpetuall oblivione; and I continew heirefter the gude will I sumtyme bure him self, to thais he sall leive behind him. And I dout not but or it be long, and soner nor mony be-leivis, the tyme will cum when they will think my kyndnes worthie the purchassing.

*Ane answir to this foirsaid gevin be the lord of Mortoun, regent, to everie heid therof, in the moneth of December, 1572, befoir the upgeving of the abstinence.*

I have sene a memoir in write of William Maitlandis, send to my servand the young lard of Carmichell, to be schawin me, whairby I am desyrit to call to my remembrance the freindschip of auld betuixt me and the said William. In it also is conteaned a rehersall of his gude offices done for me, and of my alledgit evill vsage of him laitlie. Bering in end his intentione for releif of conscience, that the ill caus suld be removit, that the better effectis heirefter may follow; seaming the mair cairfull, becaus of the extreme poynt he takis me to be at, and opinione that I sall inlaik of my present disease; and that he is lickle or it be long to stand his freindis in steid, and be

ane evill nyghtbour to his enemeis, and that his kynd- 1572  
nes were worth the purchessing. Whairvnto I have  
thoght gude thus schortlie to answeere for my awin  
discharge of the thingis directit, and that be my silence  
. . . . . teris writtin, suld not be further creditit  
nor the treuth is.

How far the indispositione of his persone impedis  
him fra trawell, him self best knawis; for my awin  
part, I thank my God of his visitatione, and is not  
out of hoipe, schortlie to have that habilitie quhilk  
sall content my self, and serve me to discharge my  
dewitie, so long as Godis pleasour is I leive.

It is true, and I deny not but that thair hes bene  
freindschipe betuixt vs, quhilk as it decayed not in my  
default, so during the continewance therof it was  
profitable for vs bayth, and his trawelis were no moir  
valiable for me, but my freindschipe stude him in als  
grit stead, weying how vnable he had bene to vnderly  
thair inimitie, that then bure him evill will, gif I had  
not sustenit his querrelis, and declairit myself partie  
to his aduersaries, quhilk drew me to the spending of  
geir, that vtherwayis myght have done grit thingis.  
The chancellarie I had not be his onlie laboris, but  
ewin my lord of Murray, whome now being deid, he  
wald mak my competitore, was thairin my freind and  
furtherer, nather was William Maitland the cheif in-  
strument of purchassing the securitie of the hous of

1572 Anguse and Mortoun, as he wald have men to think ; but therin I had the freindschip and furtherance of my said lord of Murray, whois travelis in the matter of Mortoun was sumpart for respect of his brother, the lard of Lochlevenis interest, being placed nixt in the tailyea ; and I gave the quene a thousand crownes in a purse, for the confirmatione of Angus. For vther gude turnes, give they were speciallie noted, I were able to answir thame.

Give he had not thocht my kyndnes and gud will worth that quhilk he was hable to doe for me, I dout not but he wald have beath sought and tackin geir and recompence at my handis ; gif he refused quhilk was offerit, the defalt was not on me. Gif the alteration of this freindschip proceadit from ony actione, or simplie fra that quhilk tuiched my self in particular, I ware the moir blame worthie ; bot of that I refferre the iudgment to God, and all that sall iudge indifferentlie in the world. Towardis his forefalter, when it salbe considerit wha then had the government, for what caus the forfalter past, I think they will not esteame me the cheif procurare, solistare, and settare forwardis therof ; for the erle of Lennox then regent, having the administration of the iustice in his handis, and the caus being the murther of the king his sone, it myght be weill thocht litle procuracione or solistacione neidit. That I knew him innocent in my con-

science as my self, the contrarie therof is trew; for I 1572  
 was and am innocent therof, but could not affirme the  
 same of him, considering what I vnderstand in that  
 mater of his awin confessione to my self of befoir.  
 For that wryting that he was the less behaldin vnto  
 me, indeid I thocht efter inimitie in his awin default  
 declared I was not detbund to schaw him further gud  
 will; but lyk as his travell tendit to the overthrawe  
 of the kingis esteat, and consequentlie to my wracke,  
 and the noble men and vtheris whilkis be him were  
 brought in the actione; sa was it na mervell that I  
 wisht him to be maid vnable to annoy vs; for I iudg-  
 ed it meitter that men of gud service and habilitie  
 suld be rather gratifeid with his possessiones, the bet-  
 ter to beir out thair charges in our comone cause, nor  
 that quhilk was his sulde be sufferit to cum to his awin  
 vse, to mentene the weir against vs.

I A gritter cause on his part culd not be to move me  
 to change my freindschipe, nor when I fand him di-  
 rectlie enterit in actione, not onlie of intelligence with  
 the quene, but to overthrowe that esteat in the erec-  
 tiōne whair of . . . . . had bene a cheif . . . . .  
 and in defence of the quhilk, he be his pa . . . . .  
 I had drawen all of my name that culd not escaped  
 wraik, gif we had anes slipped our grund, quhilk I  
 always esteemed to be trew and honest; and in that re-  
 spect culd never lyk of it, he callis his gude awyse; for

1572 as it was vane for him to think that he could deserve mair particulare evill will at hir handis nor he had alreddie, sa was it grit presumptione to pretend be him self that vniversall reconciliatione. And his doing was not without evident suspitione and danger to thame with whome he was ioyned in the comone caus.

Gif I inlaik, I thank God they that I aught to cair for are not destitute of freinds, but are als able to doe a gude turne for another to thair nyghtboris as his successione; and I see not what gritter assurance he hes of his awin lyfe nor I have of myne whatsoewer place he sall attene to. I wishe his doingis may stand in better steid to him self, his freindis, and his countrie, nor his lait actiones hes declared for his nyghtbourheid, sic as he will profes inimitie vnto, most beare it as they may.

Gif the memorie bayth of his kyndnes and vnkyndlie behaviour suld be placit in our chartour kistis, I think the last suld exceid the first. And whither I inlaik or not, I wishe he may consider his offence to God, the king, the noble men, and vtheris whome he was ioyned with in this comone caus, and that the lossis in this trubled countrie, whair of he hes bene the occasione, may be repaired, and how sone he sall give demonstratione of his mynd to the repairing therof; nane salbe better content that the memorie of the bypast ewill desert be forgett, and he and his restorit to that quhilk sumtynes was his awin.



THE MANER OF THE ERLE OF HUNTLEIS [DEATH] 1576  
 AS I HAVE RESAVIT THE COPIE. THE DEAT OF  
 YEIR AND DAY IS NOT PUT WITH IT\*.

As tuiching the certantie of the erle of Huntleis suddane death that ye desyre to know, their is dyvers reportis therof, alwayis I am crediblie informed be ane gentle woman wha had of ane gentle man that was present at the death, sawe and hard the whole maner, and tuichit the bodie of the said erle in service macking, as he mycht win to amonges the lave, and loved him as the tenderest of his twin hart, and was with him langare nor twentie-foure howris before his death, declared the maner to be this.

The erle of Huntlie neuer mirriare in his lyfe fra he was a man, nor better in healk, nor he was that day. The erle of Sudderland and his sister had bene all nyght with him, and war riddin south; after thate [departour], he past to ane huntis in ane wood call Wentonis wood, whair he slew thrie hairis and ane tod, and come hame

\* This is George earl of Huntly, the same of whom so much is said in the preceding part of the volume. He died in May 1576.

1576 agane to his denner, but it was after twelve hovris or he came. At the denner he cryed for ane futeball, that he micht play efter none, and reprovit Jhone Hamilton verie bitterlie becaus the ball was not reddie: and tuk ane half mark peice out of his awin bag, and comandit to bye ane, as he had dynit. The auld larde of Grant come in, aud brocht with him the lord [Adam] Gordoun. As thair denner was preparand agane, and were dynand, the erle himself was verie busie tryand out the maner of ane appointment that was betuixt the larde of Cowbardie, callit Murray, and his mother, wha was mareit to one called Car, quhilk was ane suddart to the said erle and his brother Adam, in the time of weir. This mater, with sindrie vtheris that he was speikand and directand, and the enterteanement of the lard of Grant pat off the day, while betuixe thrie and foure horis efter none, and then he enterit to the fute ball. But be he had stricken the secund straik with his awin fute at the ball, he fell on the grene; he arais agane, and past yonde to ane peit-stak, and set his bak to it. His brother Patrik cumis to him, saying, 'My lord, we are warrit in your default; ye mak no trawell.' He answered, 'I beleive I sall not play mair at this tyme, I am sumthing seik; bring me my cloike:' whilk was done. The cloike being led about him, he maid him in to the place. He begouth to staggare:

men persavit him, and gaid about him, and tuke 1576  
grippes of his armes. Tuyse or thryse he staggered,  
and they held him vp. He said to thame that was  
with him, 'I wald faine be in the place quhill this  
were overpast me; I am seik, but I will be weil  
aneugh belyve.' Then as he come neir the vter-yeat,  
that is narrest the grene, thair was ane litle myre or  
puile of water; the men lat thair grippis gang thair,  
if he mycht gang in him alane. As he had gane twa  
or thrie stepis fra thame, his cloik fell fra him, and he  
fell in the myre or puile on his face. The maister  
tuik him vp quicklie amonges thame, and bure him in  
to his awin chalmer, and laid him in his bed, quhilk  
chalmer was ane round within the grit chalmer of  
the new work of Strabogie. Fra he was laid down  
he fuimeth at mouth and both the neisthiroles, and  
warslit with his handis, and bradeth vp with his bodie,  
and luikit vp braid with his eyen, and wald haue fane  
spocken; but culd neuer find a word saif ane, and that  
he repetit dyvers tymes; the word was this, luik, luik,  
luik. He vomeit mekle lyk blood, but it was blak  
lyk suite. He wroght still on this maner, quhill be-  
twixt sex and sewin houris at ewin, and then he rande-  
rit the spreit, as it plesit God. Wha euer reportis  
vtherwayis nor this they speik besydis the truithe, for  
he gat neuer word mair of speiche nor I have above  
rehersit. Efter this, dyvers strange thingis were sene in

1576 that place, as the maner sall follow ; whilk I had of the mouth of thame that it was told to, be thame that both hard, sawe, and grapit him.

The erle of Huntlie beand deid thus on Setterday at ewin, Adam immediatlie causit, beir butt the deid corps to the chalmer of daveice, and causit bier in to the chalmer, whair he had lyen, the whole cofferis, boxis, or lettronis, that the erle him self had in handling, and had ony geir in keping in ; sic as writtis, gold, siluer, or golding worke, whairof the keyis was in ane lettrone. At the key of that lettrone was at his awin bag, whilk Adame tuke and openit that, and tuike out the rest of the keyis, and made ane inuentorie vpon all the geir he fand within that coffer, or at leist on the maist part, and speciall part of that that was within ; and when he had tane out sic money as to mak his awin expensis south, he lockit all the cofferis agane, and thereafter locket the chalmer durre, and pat vp the kye, and caused loke the vter chalmer dure whair the deid corps lay : After they had set candelis in the ehalmer to burne, and gaif the kye of that chalmer dure to Jhone Hamiltoun, wha was man having grittest caire within that place, and credite of the erle of Huntlie in his tyme. This done, with sic vther directiones maid for waiting on the place, Adam made him reddie, and tuke the post south at xii houris on the nycht, as I believe : ye have hard when he come thair.

On Sonday at x horis or thereby befoire noone, on the morne after the erle was deid, thair was in ane chalmers togither, callid the leather chalmers, vnder the turne grane, quhilk quarter is direct forment the ald hall, thair was a xiiii or xvi men in that chalmers togidder, lamenting the death that was so suddanlie fallen, everie man for his part rehersing the skaith that was to cum be that death to thame. Amangis the quhilks thair was one wastland man standand vpright at his bak at the fyre, wha said the caus was not so hard to nane as was to him: for he was newlingis cum out of Lochinwar, or send be Lochinwar, thair for some ewill turne, that he had done that he myght not bruik his awin cuntrie for. And as he was standand vpright with his bak to the fyre, lamenting the hardnes of his cais, as said is, he fallis flat down on his face to the grund deid. The men pullit him vp, kaist vp duire and windoo, and gave him the ayre, thayr culd appeir no lyfe in him except he was hotte. They bure him to the close and held him careing thair vp and downe, whill neir fyve houris at ewin, and then bure him to a bed, and laid him dovne; and when he had lyne half ane houre or therby, he reckovered with grit sobbing, and working with his handis, feit, and bodie, and he cryed 'cauld, cauld.' He wrought on sa the space of xxiiii houris fra he tuik it, or he recovered throughlie; and euer when he came out of the sowne, he cryed 'cauld,

1576 cauld.' On the morne thereafter, whilk was Tuysday nixt after the erles death, that Jhone Hamiltoun was gone vp to the galrie of the new wark, to bring downe spicerie or some other geir for the kitchine, and had with him ane Maister James Spittall, and ane vther man of the place, whois name I have forgotten; alwayis he was a servand of the place. This Jhone Hamilton oppened ane coffer, taking out sumthing that he neidit; he sayis, I am verie seik, and with that he fallis downe, cryand 'cauld, cauld.' The vther tua take him quicklie up, kest vp the window, and hade him vp and downe the hous. At lenth he said he was very seik, he wald have bene in ane bed: Maister James Spittall convoyed him downe the stair :- When he was thair dovne, he remembred that he had forgotten ane coffer oppen behind him, he turned agane, and the said Mr James with him, and when they had come agane, they found the thrid man that was with thame, fallin deid ower the coffer, and he on his wombe lyand ower the coffer. Jhone Hamilton myght mak no help, be ressonne him self was ewill at eas. Mr James Spittal ran downe, and brought vp tua or thrie vther men, and careit him downe the staire, and vp and downe the close, but culd find no lyfe in him; at lenth they laid him in ane bed, quhair within ane whyle he recoverit, with siching and sobbing, wrasing with handis, feit and bodie, and ever as he got

only wordis, betuixt the sowning, he cryed 'cauld, cauld;' and this lasted xii or xiii houris, and I trow longer; gif he was so weill wated on as the lave, as he was not, bot gave him leave to wirk him allane, because he was ane simple pure man. All theis wroght as the erle of Huntlie did in his deid passionis, except they vomited not, nor fumed at the mouth and neis thiroles. 1576

Vpon that Tuysday after the deid, ane sourrigioner of Abirdene, called William Urwhart, come to Strabogie, and bowalled the deid corps, which after the bowalling was tane out of the chalmer and hade into the chapell, whair it remaneth to the buriall. Jhone Hamilton resavit the kye of the chalmer dure agane when that deid corps was tane out. On Weddinsday nixt after the deid, Patrik Gordon, the erles brother, was sittand on ane forme nixt to that chalmer dure, whair that the deid corps was bowalled; he heiris ane greit noys and din in that chalmer, whidder it was of speiche, of grayning, or rumbling, I can not tell. Thair was xvi or xx men in the hall with him; he garis call for Jhone Hamiltoun, and askis gif there was ony bodie in that chalmer; the vther said, Nay; he bad him harken what he hard at the dure, wha hard as he did. Then the kye was brought him. He comandit Jhone Hamiltoun to gang in, wha refused; he skiped in him self; Jhone Hamiltoun followed ane step

1576 or twa, and come with speid agane to the dure for feir; Patrik passed to the inner syde of the chalmer, and hard the lyk noys as he did when he was thairout, yit could sie nothing; for it was ewin, at the way ganging of the day light. He come bak agane verie affrayedlie, and out at the dure, and schew so mony as biddin in the hall, what he hath hard, wha assayed to pas to the chalmer, to know what was thair; but nane enterit ower the dure thresschell, all come bak for feir. This pastyme lasted thame moir nor ane hour. Candles were brocht, the chalmer viseat, nothing thair; as sone as they come to the dure agane, the noys was als grit as it was of befoir, the candles burnand thair ben; they said to me that knowis it, thair is not sa mekle a quicke thing as ane mouse may enter within that chalmer, the duiis and windois steikkit, it is so close all aboute. Judge ye how ghaist and gyrecarlingis come in amonges thame. They were ane hour or twa at this bickering, while ane man of the place comes in amonges thame, and said to Patrik; 'fy, for gif he was not tentie, the brute wald pas through the cuntrie that the erle of Huntlie had risen agane.' Then Patrik called thame that hath hard it, and comandit, that na sic word suld be spooken. Ane that was present hard and saw this proceadingis, tauld this tale to ane vther persone that I credit as my self. The brute of the erle of Huntlies



death was at the begynning comonlie as I have writ- 1576  
ten, alsweill amonge the pureall as amonges the  
richest that spak of it. Marie, after Adamis hame-  
cuming, that voice was changit how the erle had died  
so perfytlie and with sic kynd of speich, as give he had  
deid with the grittest provisione that ever man did,  
and speikand to the latter mamonde of his lyfe.  
Then is it declared, how weill my lord regent tuike  
with Adam, and with lamentable tearis bevaylit his  
brotheris death ; saying, that for the grit kyndnes  
that was laitlie contracted betuixt thame, he wald be  
ane father to his fatherles, and protector to his friendis  
and servandis, desyring him come hame agane, and  
mak provisione for the burial. Quhilk, say they, he  
did in every iote according to my lord regentis direc-  
tiones. Marie, there is ane yther thing alledged,  
quhilk is this, that the king was lyke to brek his heart  
for greiting, that the lord Gordoun was not broght in-  
continent to be his play feir and servant. I doubt  
not but ye will sueir, and I in your hand, that this can  
not fail to be trew, that the king wald suelt, except  
he gat that good fatheris sone and gude kynd on the  
motheris syde to accompany his grace ; yit sall I not  
think while I heir farther, for ony bygane, that my  
lord regentis grace sall interteany and nowris tratoris,  
as they wald have it to be beleivit. I man prais the  
Lord my God, and blis his holie name for ever and

1576 ever, when I behould the fyve that was in the conspi-  
racie, not onlie of the king and the secund regentis  
murther, quhilk was the kingis graxis gudsir; but also  
of the first regentis murther, whairof experience teichis  
me some part. Foure is past with small provisione,  
to wit, the Secretare, Argyle, Bothuell, and last of all  
Huntlie. I hoip in God the fyft sall die mair perfite-  
lie, and declaire he leavis deidis with his awin mouth,  
makand his repentance at the gallowes fute \*. For all  
his interpretatione of the lawis, gif he had interpret  
the law of God ryghtlie, and followed the same, mony  
had not susteanit the truble that they have done, and  
so grit bloodsched had not been in the countrie, quhilk  
I hoip in the Father of heavin to sie revengit.

\* The object of this charitable desire is the earl of Morton; whence it is evident the account of the earl of Huntly's death was written before that of Morton. It is probable that the concluding sentences do not belong to the original.

THE SOWME OF ALL THAT CONFERENCE THAT WAS 1581  
 BETUXT THE ERLE OF MORTOUN AND JOHN DU-  
 RIE, AND MR WALTER BALCALQUHEN, AND THE  
 CHEIFTHINGIS WHICH THEY HARD OF HIM WHAIR-  
 OF THEY CAN REMEMBER, THE DAY THAT THE  
 SAID ERLE SUFFERIT, WHICH WAS THE 2 OF JUNE  
 1581\*.

First, being exhorted that he suld not be discoura- June  
 ged, in consideratione of that esteat quhairvnto anes he  
 has bene in this world, being in honour and glorie,  
 and of the doun cast whairinto now he was brought ;  
 but rather, that in consideratione of the glorie to come,  
 he suld reiose and be of gude comfourt. His answer  
 was, as concerning all the glorie that I had in this  
 world, I cair not for it; becaus I am persuadit now, that  
 all the honoris, ritches, freindis, pleasouris, and what-  
 sumever I had in the world, is but vanitie. And as  
 concerning the steat whairvnto now I am broght, I

\* The following order appears in the Records of the city of  
 Edinburgh, 1582.

REX. Prouest and baillies of our burgh of Edinburgh, we greit  
 zow weil. It is our will, and we comand zow that incontinent  
 efter the sicht heirof, ze tak down the heid of James, sum tyme  
 erle of Mortoun, of the part quhair it now is placeit vpon zour  
 awld tolbuith, swa that the sam heid may be bureit. For the  
 quhilk, this our lettre sall be to zow sufficient warrand. Sub-  
 scryvit with our hand at Halyrudhons, the aucht day of Decem-  
 ber, and of our reigne the sext zeir, 1582.

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thank God for it, and am at this point, that I am content reather to rander my lyfe, than to live ; becaus I knaw, that as God had appointit a tyme for my death, so has he also appointed the maner therof ; and therefore, that seing now is the tyme, and this is the maner, that best pleasis my God to tak me, I am content. And as for my lyfe in this world, I value it not a penny, in respect of that immortall and everlasting ioy whilk I hope for, and quhairof I am assured.

Secundlie, being requyred, what was his part or knowledge of the kingis murther, he answerit with this attestatiōne : As I sall answer to my Lord God, I sall declair truelie all my knowledge in that mater, the sowm whairōf is this : First after my returning out of England, when I was banisit for Davies slaughter, I comé out of Wedderburn to Whittinghame, whair the erle of Bothwell and I met together ; and in the yarde of Whittinghame, after long commoning, the erle of Bothwell proponed to me the purpose of the kingis murther, requyring what wald be my part therinto, seing it was the quenis mynd that the kyng suld be tane away ; becaus, as he said, scho blamed the king mair of Davies slaughter than me. My answir to the erle Bothwell at that tyme was this ; that I would not in ony wayis medle with that mater, and yit for this caus, because I am but newlie come out of a new trouble, whairōf as yit I am not read ; being discharged

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to cum neir the court be sewin mylles ; and therefore I can not enter my self in sic a new truble agane, Efter this answir, Mr Archibald Douglas enterit in conference with me in that purpose, perswading me to agrie to the erle Bothwell. Last of all, the erle Bothwell yit being in Whittinghame, earnestlie proponed the said matter to me agane, perswading me thervnto, becaus he [knew what] was the quenis mynd, and scho wald have it to be done. Unto this my answer was : I desyrit the erle Bothwell to bring the quenis hand write to me of that mater for a warrand, and then I sould give him an answir ; vtherwayis I wald not medle therwith. The quhilk warrand he never reported vnto me. Then being requyred what wald have bene his part, in cais he had gotten the quenis warrand in that mater, wald he in respect therof, hence medlit with sic a filthie murther as that. He answerit, gif I had gotten the quenis write, and sua had knawin hir mynd, I was purposit to have banisit my self agane, and turned my back vpon Scotland whilk I had sene a better. Then following furth the discourse of this matter, he said, I being in St Androis to visit the erle of Anguse; a little before the murther, Mr Archibald Douglas came to me thair both with write and credite of the erle Bothwell, schawing vnto me that, that purpose concerning the kingis murther was to be done, and neir a poynt, and to requyre my concurrence and assistance thereto. My answir was to him, that I give

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no answir to that purpose, seing I had not gottin the quenis warrand in writ, which was promised vnto me; and therefore seing the erle Bothwell never reported ony warrand of the quene, I medlit never further with it. Then being enquiryed whidder he gave Mr Archibald ony comand to be thair in his name; he answerit, I never comandit him. Being enquiryed gif he gave him ony counsall thervnto, he ans writ, he never counsallit him to it. Being enquiryit gif he counsallit him in the contrair, he ans writ, I counsallit him not in the contrare. Then it was said to him, that it was a dangerous thing for him that his servand and dependender was to pas to sic a wicked purpose and knawing therof stayed him not, seing it wald be compted his deid. He answerit, that Mr Archibald at that tyme was a dependender on the erle Bothwell, making court for himself rather than a dependare of myne. Efter this, following furth the said discourse, the said Mr Archibald then, said he, after the deid was done, schew to me that he was at the deid doing, and come to the kirk of Feild yarde, with the erle Bothwell and Huntlie. Then being enquiryed gif he resavit in his cumpany Mr Archibald efter the murder, answerit, I did indeid. Then it was said to him, appearandlie my lord, ye can not iustlie complene of the sentence that is gewin against you, seing that with your awin mouth ye confes the foreknowledge and concealing of the kingis murther, of quhilk tuo pointis onlje, ye suld not be able

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to abyde the law. He answerit, I knowe that to be trew indeid ; but yet they suld have considerit the danger that the reveiling of it wald have brought to me at that tyme ; for I durst not reveill it for feir of my lyfe ; for at that tyme, whome to suld I have reveiled it ; to the quene, scho was the doare therof. I was myndit indeid to the kingis father, but that I durst not for my lyfe ; for I knew him to be sic a baírne, that thair was nothing tauld him but he wald reveill it to hir agane ; and therefore I durst in na wayis reveill it. And howbeit they have dampned me of arte and parte, forknowledge and concealing of the kingis murther, yit, as I sall answir to God, I never had art or part, red or counsall, in that matter. I forknew indeid and concealed it, becaus I durst not reveill it to ony creatur for my lyfe. Being enquyrit, why he wald not sensyne reveill it to the kingis majestie ; he answerit, he durst not for the same feir. Then he said, efter the erle Bothwell was chargit be ane assyze, sindrie of the nobilitie, and I also, subscrivit a band with the erle of Bothwell, that gif ony suld lay the kingis murther to his charge, we suld assist him in the contrare ; and therefore I subscrivit to the quenis marriage with the erle Bothwell, as sindrie vtheris of the nobilitie did, being chargit thervnto be the quenis writ and comand. Then being enquyrit in the name of the living God, that seing this murther of the king was

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one of the most filthie actis that ever was done in Scotland, and that the secreitis therof as yit has not bene declared, neather yit wha was the cheif deid doaris, whidder he was wirreit or blawin in the aire, and therefore to declair gif he knew ony farder secret therinto; he answerit, as I sall answir to God, I knew na mair secret in that mater nor I have alreddie tauld and hard be the depositiones of such as have alreddie sufferit for it; quhilk depositiones are yit extant; Being enquiryt gif he knew ony presentlie to be about the king who war the doaris of that work, be whois cumpany the king or commonwealth myght be hurt; he answerit, I knaw none, and I will accuse none. Last of all it was said to him concerning this purpos, that in respect of his awin depositione, his part wald be suspectit to be mair fowle nor he declarit; he spereit for what resson. It was answerit, because ye beand in authoritie, howbeit ye puneist vtheris for that murther, ye puneist not Mr Archibald, whome ye knew to be guiltie therof. He answerit, I puneist him not indeid, neather durst I; for the caus befoir schawin.

Thridlie, being enquiryt of the erle of Atholes poysoning, and gif he had ony art or part therof, he answerit, with a grit attestatioun, saying, lat God never be merciful to me, gif ever I knew ony thing of that mater, or hard of it befoir I hard the comone brute of the cuntrie. And being demandit gif he knew that Mr Jhone Provand brught hame ony poyson;



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he answerit, I knaw nothing of Mr Jhone Provand but honestie : and said, fye, thair is ower mekle filthines in Scotland alreddie, God forbid that that vyld practise of poysoning suld enter amongis vs. I wald not for the erledom of Athole have eather ministrat poyson vnto him, or causit it to be ministrat vnto him ; yea gif I had bene ane hundret and he hes alone, I wald not have stirred a hayre of his heid\*.

Fourtlie, Being enquiryt gif he maid ony conspiracie against the erle of Lennox, he ans writ, with the lyk attestationes as of befoir, I never thought in my hart or purposed ony conspiracie against the erle of Lennox, nor myndet ever to doe him hurt in bodie or urtherwayis ; bot I was grevit that be the moyen of the erle of Lennox, wha as yit knew not the estait of

\* John Stewart, earl of Athole, then Lord High Chancellor. A splendid entertainment had been given by the earl of Morton in April 1579, and Athole, after partaking of it, died within a few days. Strong suspicions arose of his having been poisoned, and that Morton had participated in this atrocious deed. It does not appear, however, that Morton could have any particular interest in perpetrating this crime. During the ruder ages, as every unsuccessful or extraordinary event was ascribed to sorcery, so was the unexpected death of every great man imputed to the machinations of real or supposed enemies.

It is not evident whether that horrible custom, so prevalent in other states, was practised here. But a singular anxiety to guard against it had long before been testified by the legislature ; inso-much, that the simple bringing of poison within the realm was punishable with the highest pain, that of treason.

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our countrie, nor perceavit the danger of the kingis persone, but being thervnto requeistit be vthers, sindrie were broght hame that war the kingis enemeis, walteraris of his kingdome, and enemeis of religione, which was ane appearand danger to his persone and realme, quhilk I hopit be counsall to have helpit when the erle of Lennox familiaritie and myne suld have bene griter.

Fyftlie, Being enquyred whidder he had ony trafficquene with England for transporting of the king or vtherwayis, or gif he had ony pensione of the quene of England; he answirit, as I sall answir to God, vnder the pane of condempnacione or salvatione, I never had trafficquene with England that way. Thair was never one in Scotland or England, neather the quene nor ony in hir name, that ever meant sic a thing to me, directlie or indirectlie, as to transport or put the king in England, except it had bene for his profite and honour that he had bene crowned king of England; then I wald have ridden with him to have debated his ryght according to my power. And for the moir cleare purgacione of myself in this mater, I will say this, gif ever I ment, directlie or indirectlie, hurt to the king my maister, but meant alwayis his weill, lat God never be mercifull to me, and I sall never ask Godis mercie for ony thought that ever enterit into my hart against the king; yea thair was nothing I regardit mair in this lyfe than that he suld be broght vp in vertue

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and godliness; and I will say mair, gif I had bene als cairfull to serve my God and walk in his feare, as I was to see the kingis weill, I had not bene broght to this poynt that I am this day. And whairas they say that I was the quene of Englandis pensioner, as I sall answir to God, I had never pensione of the quene of England in my lyfe; and albeit the cause the brute to gang, that I suld have furnished the quene of Englandis suldeouris now last vpon the borderis, I never knew nor hard of it; and, last of all, whair they alledge that I suld have bene ane trafficquer with England, I praise God I had never trafficquene with thame but for the weill of the king, his countrie, and subiectis. Indeid, a yeir syne, the quene of England wrait to me a letter, the sowme whairof was this, that scho was informed that sindrie papistes and enemeis to the king were famillar with him and come in credite, quhilk could not be without his hurt, hurt to the religione and esteat of both the realmes, and therefore desyrit my counsall how it myght be remedied. Vnto this I send hir ane answir, the sowme whairof was this; I besocht her maiestie that scho wald not burding me with sic a thing, for I wald on na wayis medell in that mater; scho wald not be content that ony of hir subiectis suld medell with ony forane prince for the conformatione of hir affairis. Efter this answir I resavit a letter fra Mr Bowes, howbeit not subscrivit be the quene of England, yet, as I vnderstand, sent be

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hir moyen, and dyted be hir secretarie Welchinghame, quherein was declarit, that be this purpose thair was nothing meanit eather to my hurt, or to the hurt of the king, the realme, both the realme and subiectis therof, and speciallie of the religione; but I wrote no answir agane, nor wald medle farther in that mater.

Sixtlie, Being demandit what was his part of the enterprise of the castell of Stirveling, he answirit, as I sall answir to God I knew nothing of it while it was done; but being in Lowthiane, I resavit aduertisement out of the castell of Stirveling, and wryting fra the king that I suld cum thair; and whairas they say that I myndit to keip the king captive thair, I never myndit to keip him in captivitie thair, or in ony vther place. But I vnderstude be the kingis awin speaking, that he was als frie at that tyme as ever he was befoir or desyrit to be for the present. And gif that I had vnderstand that his grace wald have gone to ony vther place whair gritter libertie had bene, I wald have gone with him.

Sevintlie, It being laid to his charge that he was a grit hinderer of the materis of the kirk, and authorisare of the bischopes and vther corruptiones, when he myght have done mekle gude for the furtherance of Godis glorie, and advancement of his evangle, both in the tyme of his government and sensyne; his answir was, as concerning religione and doctrine, as now it is preichit and professit in Scotland, I ever meanit alwayis

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weill in my heart to it, and acknawledgit to be the verie trueth of God; insamekle, that rather or ony hurt had come to the religione, I wald have bene content to have vared my lyfe, landis, and gudis in defence of it, lyk as now I am content to die in the constant professione therof. Bot indeid, as concerning sum thingis that then were in question betuixt me and the kirk, I did therin according to my knawledge, and followed that opinione that I thought to be best at that tyme, in consideratione of the esteat of all thingis as they were; and therefore, howbeit I will not stand in the defence of thea thingis which then I did, yit I will mak this protestatione, that as I sall answir to God, that I did nothing in thea materis eather of contempt, malice, or vtherwayis; bot gif thair was ony thing done amisse, it was of ignorance, and for laik of better knawledge, and gif I had knawin better I wald have done vtherwayis, and was now purposit at last to have helpit thame sa far as I myght.

Aughtlie, Being desyrit, in the name of God, not to stand in defence of his awin innocence, bot planelie to confess his synis to Godis glorie, aud to think that however it may be that man hes done in this mater, yit God had alwayes done iustlie, and that he was to suffer nothing but that whairof, before God, he was worthie and moir; his answir was, however it be that men hes done, I remit them to God and thair awin conscience; but I acknawledge, indeid, that God hes

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alwayis done iustlie vnto me, and not onlie iustlie, but mercifullie also, becaus I acknowlege my self of all synneris to have bene ane of the grittest, a filthie abuser of my bodie in the plesouris of the flesch, gewin ower mekle to the world and pleisour therof, and sic vther synis as God myght iustlie lay to my charge, and that I express not the fructes of my professione in my lyfe and conversatione ; and therefore I beseich God to be mercifull to me. And indeid now I acknowledge the grit mercie of God in this, that amonges all the benefites he had bestowed vpon me, this is one of the cheifest, that in this my last truble he hes gewin space and laisour to repent me my synis, and to be at a point with my God ; in quhilk truble also I have found greater comfort than ever I culd have found befoir ; becaus therinto I had concludit within my self, that gif God suld have sparit my life, and delyverit me out of this truble, that then I suld have cassin away all the cairis of the world, pleasour of the same, and delyte of all earthlie thingis, and dedicat my self heirefter to serve my God in all kynd of quyetness and simplicitie ; and gif it suld pleis God to tak me in this truble, I had concludit to be content therwith also, being alwayis assured of the merceis of God ; and therefore now I thank God that now I find me at this point, that I am rather content to die then live, and that I sall not see the misereis to come ; for I will assure you, that I think to be the

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most acceptable tyme that ever God culd have tane me ; for I perceave and foirsie sic misereis and confusionis to ensew, that I thank God I sall not sie them ; and ye ~~who~~ fearis God and levis behind me, when as ye sall sie thir thingis, ye sall wisdom God to be whair I sall be, that is, with him. bR

Nyntlie, Being demandit what he thought of the forme of iudgment vsit against him, and what was his opinione therinto, whither he thought ony wrong was done to him or not, and exhortit him not to blame men without cause ; he answirit, I wald be verie lothe to find falt or blame the noble gentlemen that hes tane vpon thair consciences to condempne me ; bot I remit thame to God and thair awin consciences : yit I am movit to speik sumwhat frielie in this matter, and it is this, I saw sa partiall dealing against me, that it had bene all alyke to me, gif I had bene as innocent as Sanct Stewin as gif I had bene als guilty as Judas ; for I perceavit planelie, that there was nothing but my lyfe sought, howsoewer it had bene, whilk appeared in this, that na exceptione against ony persone that was to pas vpon myne assise could awaile ; for I requyred the erle of Argyle to purge him self of partiall counsall gewin to the persewer my accuser, he purgit him self indeid, but I knaw the contrair, that he gave partiall counsall to him. Lykwayis the lard of Wachtoun, the lord Seaton, and sic vtheris, wha were knawin to be my enemeis, notwithstanding my lauchfull

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exceptione, were put vpon my assise ; in consideration whair of I can not [but] be perswadit of a thing which it behoved me to comunicat vnto you, and it is this, I persaive it is ~~not~~ my lyfe onlie that they ~~are~~ seekand, but they, ~~who are~~ the authoris of my death, had sum vther purpose in hand, quhilk they perceavt could not gudlie be done, except I and sic vtheris as favours the gude caus were tane out of the way ; and therefore I can not but suspect that I have bene so handlit. And sic as I heirefter salbe put at, that they may have a moir potent way to doe thair turne ; and I pray God that ye that are to live behind me sie not the practis therof. Bot I feir it sair ; and therfore, in respect of this appearand danger of the comone cause, I will give my counsall to the king my maister, and wis you, in the name of God, to beir it to him. The sowme whair of is this, I perceave that they who hes bene the kingis vnfreindis, enemeis to his crowne and comone caus, are brought in credite and in court ; and they who had bene menteaneris of his crowne and gud freindis, discredited and mislyked of ; and siclyke as are knowin to be papistes, and suspect to be enemies to the religion, are ower familiare and in ower grit credit with his maiestie, quhilk appearandlie can not be without grit danger to the religion and hurt to his estait ; and therfore I admonis him, in the name of God, to bewar with thame and put remeid thervnto, and as he hes bene brought vp in the feir of God, and company of



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gude men, to continewe therin, and not to goe bak, or elis he hes done with it for ever ; for I tell you what movis me to speik this, the estait of religione in this countrie appeared never to be in sic danger, and that for this caus ; I heir say that there is a dealing and present trafficquene betuixt France and England, and monseuris marriage with the quene is heavelie to be fearit : gif France and England band together, and that marriage goe forwardis, ye may easelie vnderstand that the one of thame will travell to persuade the vther to thair religione. The monseur dar not change his religione gif he ettle to the crowne of France ; and therefore ye man be assured he will travell to perswade the vther to his religione, and to bring papistrie in England, quhilk is ower easie to be done, the tuo part of England being papistes. Gif England and France band together, and both be papistes, we are left our alone ; we have no league with England, and therefore I knaw what we will doe, to wit, we will cleave to the auld league with France, and to band with France as France is now ; and France and England beand one, iudge ye in what cace sall the religione be with vs. God give the king and his nobilitie wisdome to foirsie the danger in tyme.

Tentlie, Being requyred to give his gud counsall to the erle of Anguse, and to schaw him what was meittest to be done, seing presentlie he was in grit trouble ;

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he answirit, truelie I dar give him no counsall ; the Lord help him, for truelie I dar give him no counsall ; and I will tell you why ; to bid him cum in presentlie I dare not ; all men may see in what danger he is, as thingis gois now, gif he cum in. And to counsall him to byde furth I dar not ; for then he sall lose the kingis favour for ever, he sall tyne himself his heritage, his whole freindis, and all ; and therfore the best counsall I can give him in this mater is this, that he mak all moyen possible to purchase the kingis my maisteris favour agane, and to sie gif he may have ony assurance of his lyfe ; that he may serve his God and the king truelie, and submit himself and all that he hes to his maiesties gude will ; for pure man he hes done nothing yit but it may be mendit. I say no moir, but the Lord give him his spreit to follow that that is best.

Allewintlie, Being requyred to declair what was the sowme of that admonitione that Jhone Knox gave him, befoir he accepted the regiment, when he came to him a little befoir his departour ; he answered, I sall tell you sa far as I can remember. First of all, he sperit gif I knew ony thing of the kingis murther ; I answirit, indeid I knew nothing of it. Then he said to me, weill God hes bewtified you with mony benefites, quhilk he hes not gewin to everie man ; as he hes gewin you riches, wisdom, and frendes, and now

is to preferre you to the government of this realme ;  
and therefore, in the name of God, I charge you to  
vse all thir benefites aright, and better in tyme to cum  
then ye have done in tymes bypast ; first to Godis  
glorie, to the furtherance of the evangle, the mentea-  
nance of the kirk of God and his ministry ; nixt for  
the weill of the king and his realme and his true sub-  
iectis : gif so ye sall doe, God sall bliss you and ho-  
nour you ; bot gif ye do it not, God sall spoilye you  
of thir benefites, and your end salbe ignominie and  
schame. Then being enquiryt gif he had fand this  
trew or not ; he answirit, I have fand it indeid, yit I  
doubt not but the Lord wilbe mercifull vnto me.

Then being inquiryt for what caus he held sum of  
the nyghtbouris of Edinburgh in waird ; he answirit,  
surelie I meanit no ewill to theis men ; but it was  
done vpon this respect : we had the mater of the bu-  
lyeon then in hand ; I was informed that they were  
the hindereris therof ; I thought it best at that tyme  
to put thame in ward for a while, till that turne had  
bene done, and gif I did thame ony wrang, I crave  
them forgivenes, as I forgive all men.

Being inquiryt gif he knew that he wald be accused  
of this mater afoir ; he answerit, I was aduertised of  
it indeid, and myght have escapit ; bot I wald not,  
leaning alwayis vpon my innocence, and not supposing  
that they wald have condempned me vpon sic a thing,

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Then after this, he and we called to God together be earnest prayer, during the quhilk prayer he schaw most inward motione of the spreit of God. The prayer beand endit, he sayis to vs, I thank you hartlie for your comfort quhilk you have offerit vnto me, for now indeid is grittest mister of comfort; and therefore, as ye have begvn, I beseich you to continewe with me. And now efter I am come to the knowledge of my awin synnes, thair restis onlie tuo thingis that I will crave you of, that is, first, that ye will schaw to me all kynd of argumentis whairby I may be comforted, and hauld me sure upon the merceis of God; and nixt, seing the flesch is but feirfull and waik, that ye wald comfort me against the naturall feir of death; quhilk desyre we travellit to satisfie be long conference quhilk were long to rehers in everie point, yit the sowme of it was this; it was said to him that there was thrie thingis chiefly quhilk myght mak him to be assured of the mercie of God in Christ. First, the innumerable and comfortable promises of Godis merceis conteanit in his word, whairvpon it behoves him alwayis to leane, whairof thair was cited vnto him. Secondlie, the example of Godis merceis practised towardis his awin servantis, howbeit they bene grit synneris; as appeareth in David, Magdalene, Peter, the theif, &c. Thridlie, the oft experience from Godis mercie, quhilk from tyme to tyme he had

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fund in his awin persone, aught to assure him now also of his mercie in the end. Vnto this he answirit saying, I knaw all that to be trew ; for sen I past to Dumbartane I have red all the fyve buikis of Moses, Josua, the Judges, and now I am in Samuel, and I will tell you what I have found thair ; I sie thair that the merceis of God are wonderfull, and always inclyned to have pitie vpon his awin people of Israel ; for thair it appeiris, that howbeit he pvnist the people of Israell when they synit, yit how sone they turned to him againe, he was mercifull to thame ; and when they synned agane, he pvnist thame, and so oft as they repentit he was mercifull agane. And therfore I am assured howbeit I have oft offendit against my Lord God, yit he wilbe mercifull to me also. Farther, in this poynt it was said to him, that incais Sathan wald trawell to discourage him, in consideratione of the iustice of God on the ane part, and of his synis on the vther part, we exhorted him be the contrair to be of gude courage, and ewin in respect of the iustice of God, to be assured that his synis suld not be laid to his charge, and that because God was iust, for the iustice of God will not suffer him to tak twyse payment for ane thing ; as we knew that in the comone dealing of men, he that is a iust man will not crave payment tuis of that whairof he hes bene alredie satisfied ; and therfore, seing that Christ hes alreddie sa-

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tisfeit for our synis, and payit God for the outmost farding he could crave of vs, he can not lay our synis vnto our charge, being satisfeid in Christ, becaus that his iustice will not suffer him to take payment twyce for one thing. Vnto this he answirit, truelie that is verie gude.

As concerning the naturall feir of death, we exhortit him to be alwayis occupeit vpon the consideratione of the glory of God, the ioy and felicitie of the lyfe that is to cum, and that suld be the onlie way to swallow vp the feir of this naturall death. He answirit, I praise God I doe so.

All this being done, having in his hand a prettie treatis of the meditatione of death, written be Mr Bradfurd, quhilk he said he had gottin fra the ladie Ormistoun, before he past in waird, and therefore befor his passing furth gave it to Mr James Lowsoun, desyring him to delyver it to the said ladie again. Having this buik in his hand, he willed Mr Walter to reid to him a peice therof, quhilk he did; in reiding whairof, with sindrie conferences vpon the thing that was red, both he and we gat grit comfort, in samekle as he said, I praise God I heir now with vther earis then I heard of before.

With this being called to his disione, he desyrit vs earnestlie to tak part with him, as we did. He eat his disione with grit chearfulness, as all the company saw,

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and as appeared in his speaking. Now, sayis he, I sie thair is a grit difference betuixt a man that is occupit with the cairis of the world, and him that is frie therof. And this I have found in the tua nyghtis rest going befoir; for in the nyght before my accusatione, I culd get no rest for feir, becaus I knew I was to be accused the morne; and therefore being obliet to ansuir to everie point that suld be laid to my charge, I culd not sleip. Bot this nyght, after I was condempned, I knew that I was to die, I was at a point with my self, and had na thoght of the world nor cair of this lyfe, bot calst my onlie cair vpon God; and I praise God I never sleippit better in my lyfytyme nor I did this nyght; and said to William Stewart, William, ye can beir me record of this? wha answerit, it is trew, my lord. Then Mr Walter said to him, My lord, I will drink to you vpon a conditione: he answerit, What conditione? vpon this conditione, my lord, that ye and I sall drink together in the kingdome of heavin, of that imortall drink quhilk sall never suffer vs to thirst agane. He answerit, Truelie I pledge you Mr Walter, on the same conditione; and efter he had resavit the coupe, he said to Jhone Durie, Jhone, I drink to you vpon yone same conditione; wha answerit, I pledge you, my lord, and I am assured it salbe swa. The disione being endit, and thankis beand gewin to God, he passeth to his chalmert agane,

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at what time Mr James Lawsons come to him agane, with whome he conferred the substance of all thir thingis agane after that we ware departed fra him.

Then at the after none we come to him agane, with sindrie of the brethrene of the ministrie ; as Mr James Lawsons, Mr Robert Pont, David Fergusone, Mr David Lyndsay, Jhone Brand, Mr James Carmichell, and Mr Jhone Davidsons, whome he resavit verie lovinglie in his armes, and said to him, ye wrait a little book indeid, but trewlie I menit never ewill towards you in my hart ; forgive ye me, and I forgive you. At which speking, the said Mr Jhone was movit with tearis. All thir brethren being present, to thair grit comfort he repeatit agane the cheif substance of all thea thingis whair of he spak befor, being demandit point be point, as thair testificatioun of this mater subscrivit be thame at mair lenth will declair.

Therefter he was called to his denner, about tua efternone ; bot being at his denner, seing that the brethren of the ministrie war informed that thair was wrong report made of his confessione to the king, and that he suld have confessit mekle vtherwayis then he did, whairby the king myght have had a war opinioun of him ; they thocht gude to send down some befor his suffering, to informe his maiestie of the treuth of his confessione ; as namelie, David Fergusone, Jhone Durie, and Jhone Brand, wha befor his death at lenth



tauld the whole simple treuth of his confessionne as it was, to the kingis maiestie.

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At thair returning agane fra the Abbay, his keaper requyrit him that he suld come furth to the scaffold; he answerit, Seing they have trublit me ower mekle this day with warldlie thingis, I supposit they suld have gewin me this one nyghtis leasour, to have advysit rypelie with my God. His kepar said, all thingis are reddie now, my lord, and I think they will not stay: he answerit, I am reddie also, I praise my God. And swa ane comfortable prayer beand maid, he passeth doun to the yeat to goe directlie to the scaffold; but the erle of Arran stayed him, and brought him back agane to the chalmere, and requyrit of him that he suld tarie till his confessionne myght have bene put in wrait, and substryvit with his awn hand and the ministeris that were present. He answerit, nay, my lord, I pray you trouble me no moir with thea thingis; for now I have ane vther thing to advise vpon, that is, to prepare me for my God, seing now I am at a point to goe to death, I can not wryt in the esteat that now I am in; all thir honest men can testifie what I have spocken in that mater. With quibilk answer the erle of Arran being satisfied, he said vnto him, now, my lord, ye wilbe reconciled with me, for I have done nothing vpon ony particulare against you: He answerit, it is na tyme now to remember vpon querrallis; I have na

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quarrell to you, or ony vther. I forgive you and all vtheris, as I will all to forgive me. And so thereafter with gude curage he passit to the scaffold. Being vpon the scaffold, he repeatit in few wordis, the substance of thea thingis quhilk befoir he had confessit; except he concealit Mr Archibald Douglas name, and eikit sum wordis and exhortationes vpon the scaffold to the people, quhilk he spake not befoir; as name-lie, he said, I am sure the king sall lose a gude servant this day; and so he exhortit the people, saying, I testifie befoir God, that as I have professit the Evangle, quhilk this day is teachit and professed in Scotland, sua also, now willinglie I lay down my lyfe in the professione therof; and howbeit I haue not walkit according thervnto as I aught, yit I am assured God wilbe mercifull vnto me, and I pray all gude Christianis to pray for me. And I charge you all in the name of God, that are professoris of the Evangle, that ye continew in the trew professione, and menteane it to your power, as I suld have done God willing, with my lyfe, landis, and all, gif I hath had dayis; quhilk gif ye doe, I assure you God salbe mercifull vnto you, but gif ye doe it not, be assured the vengeance of God sall lyght vpon you both in bodie and saull. As concerning all the rest of the thingis quhairof he spak comfortable on the scaffold, he spak thame in

effect, and mair amplie befoir ; and therefore we think it not neidfull to report thame agane.

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Therefore all his speiches being endit vpon the scaffold, a comfortable prayer was made be Mr James Lowson; during the tyme of the quhilk prayer, the erle of Mortoun lay on gruiſe vpon his face befoir the place of executione, his bodie making grit rebounding with sychis and sobbis, quhilk are evident signes of the inward and myghtie working of the spreit of God ; as they who were present, and knew what it was to be earnestlie movit in prayer, myght easelie perceave. The prayer being endit, and after that sindrie come to him befoir his death, to be reconciled with him, whome most lovinglie he receavit. And after he had taken vs all be the handis that were about him, and bidden vs fair weill in the Lord, he passeth bayth constantlie, patientlie, and humblie, without feir of death, to the place of executione, and laid his craig vnder the axe, his handis being vnbound ; and thereafter Mr Walter putting him alwayis in mynd, and crying in his eare thir wordis following, he cryed continewallie till his head was stricken of ; Lord Jesus receave my saule ; in thy handis, Lord, I comit my spreit : Lord Jesus receave my saule ; quhilk wordis he was speikand ewin quhill the axe fell on his neck ; and sua whatever he had bene befoir, he constantlie died the trew servant of God ; and however it be

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that his vnfreindis alledge that he liveth prouddie, so he died prouddie, the charitable servantis of God culd perceave nothing in him but all kind of humilitie in his death, insamekle that we are assured, that his saule is receavit in the ioy and glorie of the hevinis ; and we pray God, that they wha are behind, may lerne, be his exemple, to die in the trew feir of the Lord. 2 Junij, anno domini, 1581,

A BRIEF NOTE OF THE THINGIS DONE BE THE ERLE OF LENNOX AND HIS ADHERENTIS, CONTRAIR THAIR PROMEIS MAID TO THE ERLE OF SUSSEX, LIEUTENANT OF THE NORTH, TO THE QUENIS MAIESTIE OF ENGLAND, BY THE QUHILK THAI HAIF VIOLET AND BROKEN THE ABSTINENCE SUBSCRYVED BE THE SAID ERLE OF LENNOX, WHICH WAS PROMISED TO BE KEPIT *BONA FIDE* \*.

1. First, that the said erle hes causit hald a pretendit parliament, efter that he was required be the said erle of Sussex, in the quenes maiestie of Englandis name, not to hald the same.

2. Item, he hes compellit the subiectis to grant a taxt of tuelfe thousand pundis ; and hes raised the same to mak the charge of thair comissioneris to cum into England.

3. Item, he hes charget sindrie of the queinis gud subiectis to compeir befoir him, vnder the pain of rebellion ; and becaus thai did not compeir, he denun-

\* Both this and the following article should have preceded Secretary Maitland's letter, because they are prior in date. This has been written between October 1570 and January 1571.

cit thame rebellis, and pat thame to the horne \* ; and, vnder that cullour, hes intromettit with thair houssis, landis, and guidis.

4. He hes sent laitlie, since the subscriueing of the assurance, grypt cumpaneis of men of weir, bayth on fute and hors, to the duke of Chastellerhaultis landis, and his freindis in Cliddisdail, Kynele, and vtheris places ; and hes spulzeit and takin away the haill gudis, sic as hors, nolt, scheip, plenissing insicht, alsweill of the pure tennentis and labouraris of the grund, as perteinyng to the duke him self, and landit men, to the grypt heirschip of the haill cuntrie.

5. Item, he hes lykwyse sent his men of weir to the castell of Liddingtoun, and hes spoyled the haill cornis and gudis perteinyng to the auld laird, and zoung laird of Lethingtoun, furth of all their landis and possessiones ; and the saidis men of weir with-haldis and remanis still within the said hous.

6. Item, he hes sent to the landis perteining to the

\* It was of great importance for either party to put their adversaries to the horn ; for certain oppressive penalties and disabilities were incurred by it.

The more solemn parts of the Scottish law were carried into execution, by writings which proceeded in the king's name, and commanded obedience. If the injunctions were not obeyed within the limited time, a certain ceremony was performed, which consisted in blowing a horn, and declaring the individual in a state of rebellion.

In particular situations, the forfeiture of the whole property belonging to the person followed this *denunciation*, as it is called.

Lord Flemyng, and to Johne Flemyng his bruther, and compellis the tennentis of thair landis to mak payment to the said erle of the males and dewteis of thair landis and baronyis of Biggar, Thankertoun, Edmestoun, and Glenghan, pertenyng to the Lord Flemyng; and of Carwod, and of vther landis pertening to the said Johne Flemyng, and of vtheris grit enormiteis perpetrat be the erles men of weir.—They have slane and distroyed the deer of his forrest of Cummerald, and the *gubit ky and bullis* of the said forrest, to the gryt destructione of polecie, and hinder of the commonweill. For that kynd of ky and bullis hes bein keipit thir money zeiris in the said forrest; and the lyke was not mantenit in ony vther partis of the ile of Albion, as is weill knawin.

7. Item, he hes intromettit with the said Lord Seytones hous of Seytoun and Nidry; disponis vpoun his guidis and cornis at his plesour.

8. Item, he causis Alexander Hume of Manderstoun intromet with the haill males, fermes, and dewteis of the abbay of Coldinghame, being the quenis good subiect.

9. Item, he will not suffer the Lord Humes servandis, intromet with his males and dewteis of his landis, nor with his cornis and guidis.

10. Item, he hes chargit the Lord Seytoun, and George Douglas, bruder to the laird of Lóchlevin, to compeir befor him vnder the pane of rebellione, for

convoying of the quenis maiestie of Scotland furth of Lochlevin; and, incais of noncompearance, intendis to denunce thame rebellis, and put them to the horne, gif the same be not alreddie done.

11. Item, he hes chairgit Johne Simple to deliver certane iewellis, and furies of martrick, and sabelis pertaining to the quenis maiestie of Scotland; and, becaus Johne Simple wald not deliver the same to the erle, he hes causit put him in prisoun within the castle of Blaknes.

12. Item, since the subscriving of the said assurance, the said erle, and his adherentis, have vsit gretar rigour nor it was in thair power to do befoir. Becaus, since the subscriving of the said assurance, the Quene of Scotlandis guid subiectis wald not, in ony wayis, offend the treaty; and swa the rather hes sufferit all thir iniuries, nor to geif occasion to the quenes maiestie of England to be offendit with thame, or to leave of the treaty begun, in thair default. And, becaus the principall assurance betuix the parteis in Scotland hes bene taken be the quenes maiestie of England, quhairvpon hir hienes lieutenant did ressaue the promise of baith the partes, that all thingis suld be done, and peace keipit amongis thame all, during the said abstinence, *bona fide*, quhilk, nevertheless, is violated be the foirsaidis erlis, and mony vtheris done be the said Erle of Lennox, and his adherentis. Thair-



foir, in moist humble wayis desyres hir maiestie to caus the saidis iniuries and wrongis be repairit out of hand, be the said erle, and his adherentis in Scotland ; or ellis to caus the said Erle Lennox guidis and landis, within England, to be ceased thairfoir, according to all ressoun, and believes assuredlie the quenes maiestie of England will not refuse the same, in respect that it is conforme to the laws of hir awin realme, and wald not be refuseit to the meanest that wald require the same within this realme, in vther privat and particular causes, according to law and iustice.

13. And, in consideratione of the foirsaidis, that the quenes maiestie of England wilbe sa guid as to writt vnto Scotland, to Lennox, to caus the saidis wrongis be repaired ; and, to geif a copie of hir maiesteis lettre to the bischope of Rosse, to be send to the quene his maistres, to the effect scho may aduertise hir guid subiectis in Scotland of the quenes maiesteis mynd, to proceed in this treaty, and that hir hienes will not mantene the said erle in these vngodlie and vnressonable attemptatis, contrair his fayth and promise.

14. Attoure, the quene of Scotland sent for Mr Robert Crychtoun, hir hienes advocat, to cum there with the comissioneris, quha can not be sufferit to cum be the erle of Lennox, becaus he hes compellit him to find souertie vnder the pane of foure thousand

pundis, that he sall not pas furth of the toune of Edinburgh, whiche is done for the hinderance of the queinis service, and of this treaty. Thairfoir desyres maist humblie the quenis maiestie to caus the erle of Lennox discharge the suirtyes, and him self licentit to cum thider to assist to this treaty \*.

FROM THE EARL OF LENNOX, REGENT OF SCOTLAND†.

After our maist hertlie commendationis. Albeit, we dout not it is the meaning of the quenis maiestie, that the abstinence salbe weill and sincerelie kept in this realme, during the tyme aggreid vnto: Zit sic observatioun as the adversares has used, sen the subscribing of the last abstinence, ze may persueve be the particularis following :

First, The detentioun of James Craik, messinger, quha wes takin of befoir at Dumbartane, executand the kingis lettres, and careit to Dunnvne in Ergile, quhair he hes bene detenit in miserabill prisoun in irlis, be the space of sax or sevin oulkis bepast, and

\* The regent's answer to these accusations is so diffuse, and interspersed with other matters, that it would appear tedious if inserted here; but the following paper shows what he conceived aggressions on the other side.

† These instructions were probably addressed to the Commendator of Dunfermling, then in London.

ait not relevit : quhair of we haif at divers tymes heir-  
refoir aduertit.

Item, the young lard of Garleis past laitlie in Gal-  
loway, with a few men in favour of our nepho lord  
Robert Stewart, commendatour to Qubitherne, to for-  
tifie officiaris of armes in executioun of the kingis let-  
tres past at the instance of our said nepho, quha was  
proudit to that benefice befoir we acceptit this charge  
of regiment ; and without ony provocation maid be  
the said laird of Garleis or vther occasioun gevin, saul-  
ding assisting to the proclamatioun, and vseing of the  
saidis lettres, he was assaultit in the hous quhair he  
remanit within the toun of Qubitherne be Patrick  
Fleming, and the garresoun intertynete be the lord  
Fleming within the hous of Congiltoun, and thair, in  
his defence, twa of his servandis cruellie slane, thrie  
deidlie hurt in perell of thair lyffis. And, at the  
tyme, thair was takin furth of his stabill sex horsse,  
quhilkis the personis being in the said hous of Congil-  
toun, reteans, or hes disponit vpon thame at thair ple-  
sour. Bot sensyne, as we ar newlie informit, thay  
haif slane his principall servand that went with him,  
and hes takin and deteins him self as prisoner.

Item, Claude, the duikes sone, and vtheris of the  
Hamiltonis declairit traittouris, hes be proclamatioun  
dischargeit not onlie to answer James Cuninghame,  
sone to the erle of Glencairne, pensioner of Kelso,

to be answerit of his pensioun, quhilk is assignit to be payit to him of the fruittis and rentis of Lesmahago; bot als they haif appointit Williame Hamiltoun, broder to Robert Hamiltoun of Inchermachan, as chalmerlane to thame to intromet and tak vp the said pension to thair vse; and hes compellit the tenentis to lay in alsweill their fermes as teindis alreadie in the castell of Draffen.

Item, thay have be force compellit the lord Sempill's tenentis of his barony of Glasfurde to mak payment to thame of thair full rentis and dewities of the said baronie; the said lord being still keipit as presonar with thame, quhome thay haif laitlie convoyit furth of Ergile to Draffen.

Item, thay haif used the lyk compulsion and force againis the tenentis of the laird of Cunninghame heidis landis of Lampskair, and of the laird of Glenbervies lands of Bradwod, constrenand the tenentis to mak payment to thame of the rentis thair of, and to lay in their reddiest victuallis in the said castell of Draffen.

Item, vpon Weddinsday the xvii of Januar instant, the said Claud Hamiltoun, Arthour Hamiltoun of Myrretoun, and vtheris of that name, enteret in the Abbey and place of Paislay, pertaining to the lord Sempill, now being prisoner and captiue in thair handis, and hes takin sum of his friendis and servandis presoneris, and reft, spoilzeit and away takin his hors and vtheris guidis being thair, and put a garnysoun in the samin place and

abbay, tending to retene and keip it be force ; the same being and continewing in the possession of the said lord Sympill, sen the dispositioun maid to him thair-  
of, after the foirfaltour orderlie led, alsweill aganis the Bischope of Sanct Androis, vsufructuar and lyfrentar of that benefice, as aganis the said Claud Hamilton nominat successour to the same ; and sensyn the said Bischope in person has cum to the said Abbay, and thair fensit and haldin courtis in name of the quene, the kingis moder, minassing the tenentis that he will be payit thre zeiris rentis begane, and hes alreddie begvne and spoiled and reft divers horss and guidis furth of the grund of my awin proper landis of Dernlie and Camklystoun.

Thir sa frequent and manifest violationis of the abstinence acceptit now quhen her maiestie willit the same to be maist sincerlie observit, as it hes bene on our part, declairis how lichtlie faith, honour, and promise is regardit be that race of factioun, quhat thai intend farther notwithstanding the assurance, and how thai haif maid provocation be armes and vtherwayis to ws, to revenge thir attemptattis, and seik amendis the best we may, befoir thai proceid to forder interpryss, in preiudice of the king, and to our disadvantage.

All this, we pray zow, declar vnto the quenis maiestie, lettand hir hienes vnderstand quhat greit harme we daylie sustene vnder this abstinence, quhilk we not

onlie aggreit vnto at hir hieness desyre, but als to the suspension of the parliament, notwithstanding the wechtie materis concerning the kingis estait, that were to be entreated thairin ; vsand all the expedition that possible we can in dispatching of commissioneris towardis hir maiestie, for her fvrther satisfactioun in ony thing lyand in us, not doutting bot hir maiestie will consider this dealing of our adversaris to be purpoislie vsed to stay hir order and resolution intendit, and how we vpon thir prouocationis and manifest iniuries haif iust caus to seik the revange thair of the best we may.

Albeit, heirtofore, we wrait vnto zou, that the commissioneris suld be thair again Candilmas; but sic has bene the delay of the noble menis conuening, at the occasioun of the storme and tempestuous wether, and sa wechtie ar the materis heir to be deliberat, and quhairvpon thay mon cum instructed, the wether still thairwithall contnewing so ewill, and the trawelling so diffissil, that we trust it sall be about Candilmas befor thai can be abill to depairt frome this : Of the quhilk we thocht meit to gif zow knowledge, that ze may excuis the delay the best ze can.

Furthermoir, ye sall understand, that the aduersaris not onlie attemptis thir murtheris and iniureis aganis the effect of the abstinence ; bot als perswadis all men, that the twa quenis ar fully agreid, that we dar not pas in the west countrie, nor resist ony of thair enterpryssis, as thocht we were tyit in this town

quhair, indeid, we haif bene constrainit to remane lang-are nor our meaning wes, pairtlie be reassoun of our infirmitie, and pairtlie for the suspensioun of the parliament and dispatche of my lord of Mortoun, swa as ze may declair vnto hir maiestie the greit wrack and skaith that we daylie sustene vnder this abstinence, quhilk we haif bene sa willing heirtofoir to observe at hir maiesteis motioun and desire.

And, finalie, we pray zow, to expaid the money for payment of the men of weir how sone possiblie ze can, for swa is mister considering the thingis ellis attemptit be the adversaris and thair appearand preparatioun to work forther mischief. We haif had mekle ado to stay our suddertis ane day after this without payment at leist of a monethis waigeis in hand, and with difficultie perswadit thame for a very short time vpon promise the same day of half a monethis waige, quhilk we trust sall be hard enewch to do : and ze knaw thair hes not bene gretar necessitie of thair service nor now, quhilk we dout not bot zour part ze will regaird with als greit cair, as the mater twechis ws all; indeid, the gretar expedition in this behalf be vsit, the mair acceptabill will the thing be that cumes. And sa leiffing forther writting to new occasioun, we comit zow in the protectioun of Almighty God. At Edinburgh, the xxii of Januar, 1571.





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